THE NEW REPUBLIC

VERMONT
1962

Time to Cut

Employment figures for June are cheerless. Not only did the seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment stick at 5.5 percent – no improvement since February – but there has been a further shrinkage of the civilian labor force: With June employment at 69,539,000 and unemployment at 4,463,000, it stands at 74,002,000, which is about 280,000 less than it was a year ago, whereas on the basis of population growth, the total should be about 1.3 million greater. Some one and a half million workers have thus vanished from the labor market. This can only be viewed as so much hidden unemployment which, if taken into account, would lift the unemployment rate to over seven percent. A comparable shrinkage did not occur in any of the previous postwar recessions. There are other disturbing symptoms that suggest the economy needs penicillin, not aspirin. Steel production is below 50 percent of capacity and is likely to stay there at least during the summer. With estimates of automobile sales running between 6.7 and 7 million for '62 – a considerable increase over last year – borrowing on next year's market may be taking place as it did in 1955. And if so, 1963 will mean more men out of work in Detroit and even smaller demand for steel. Department store sales fell sharply last month. The Federal Reserve Board index declined from 160 percent in May, to 154 percent in June, portending another slide in retail sales. Stores are reporting poor sales of luxury and durable goods, presumably due largely to the stock market slump. The most sobering omen of a serious recession in the offing, however, is the behavior of the National Bureau of Economic Research business cycle indicators. Most of these heretofore reliable lead indicators are pointing down. Manufacturers' new orders for durable

(Continued on page 3)

12-64 K96744 AR11-13-1
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Cuts Without Reforms

★ The leaky American tax structure is loop-holed like a sieve. Income taxes theoretically go up to a confiscatory 91 percent, but nobody pays that or is really expected to; corporation taxes go up to 52 percent but you couldn't carry water in that bucket either. There are leaks everywhere. Hardly anything is in greater need of reform.

Kennedy planned such reform. In Washington you never give something unless you get something; lacking disciplined parties and coherent control we have government by barter. Kennedy planned next year to hand out tax cuts totaling maybe $9 billions and in exchange to take back perhaps $5 billions by stopping tax leaks.

This would serve two purposes. Economists now agree that the graduated tax bite with all its inconsistencies, is too deep and aborts a business recovery before it can get established. So Kennedy would modify this, and in exchange for tax concessions would buy reforms. In other words the particular coalition that would come to the top in the kaleidoscopic Congress on this issue (the coalition shifts, you understand, on every issue) would be asked to accept reforms baited with tax cuts.

But many in Congress want tax cuts without reforms and Kennedy has lost bargaining power because of the weak business recovery. Jovial, powerful, brutal Bob Kerr (D, Okla.) multimillionaire oil man, typifies those Congressmen fearful of tax reforms. He is the real power in the Senate Finance Committee. Any tax reform begins by reducing the iniquitous 27½ percent oil-gas depletion allowance, biggest and most flagrant loophole of all. (It explains why four super-giant oil companies are among America's 10 biggest industrial corporations.) Kerr is for a tax cut – *now*. He does not want a cut next year to bait depletion allowance reduction; why, that would mean tax benefits to millions of small taxpayers at the expense of the oil giants! Kennedy may salvage some of the reform aspect of his program by giving a temporary tax cut now with a time limit on it, say, of one year. The economy certainly needs a shove.

The annual foreign aid bill is always the vehicle for election-conscious Congressmen to prove they aren't soft-on-Communism. Senator Goldwater isn't soft on Communism! You can tell because he is always demanding "total victory" (whatever that is). The *Chicago Tribune* isn't soft on Communism. It disclosed that the head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, Walt Rostow, had a "mysterious" foreign policy paper, allegedly advocating something less than atomic war against Moscow. Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois isn't soft on Communism, you bet; he is the mellifluous GOP Senate leader who immediately secured an examination of Rostow before the Foreign Relations Committee on the *Tribune* charges. The session was secret but Rostow apparently dominated affairs and left Dirksen with little to say, which is no mean feat.

Running foreign policy from the legislative floor is something to ponder. In a sudden fit of economy, House conservatives recently killed an appropriation to pay off a war debt a commission said we owed the Philippines: the Filipino president promptly cancelled his visit here, the islands changed their Independence Day from the 4th of July, and good relations were soured even though the House hastily retreated. In a terribly complex and dangerous world can we afford old political habits like this?

Cutting Off Our Nose

★ India's Krishna Menon is a peculiarly trying gentleman; shall we cut back foreign aid to India to spite him and thus actually help him politically while damaging the best hope of democracy in Asia? Or again, take proposed US aid to Yugoslavia. We want to encourage its divergence from Moscow. (Moscow reciprocates by trying to drive wedges in the West.) But any cheap politician in Congress can rise to denounce "softness to Communism" in trade concessions here. Some are sincere, others demagogues willing to aid Communism if it helps get re-elected.

Satellites under the UN?

★ By paying $3 million you can put up your own private satellite. That is what AT&T plans to do this week for its 170-pound communications Thor-Delta rocket, called Telstar. In no time at all we shall all be talking about and possibly seeing the results of this traveling relay station. We shall be face to face with the issue of private ownership.

That's the trouble with technology – it won't wait. We could spend years arguing about coherent policy for satellites but the event is three jumps ahead. MIT's Lincoln Bloomfield is out with a study (Public Affairs Pamphlets, 25c, 22 E. 38th Street, NYC) on peaceful uses of space. The taxpayer has spent billions on basic technology – should private companies now exploit it? Kennedy favors private ownership and operation; so, apparently, does Congress. But can space be exploited that way, let alone the taxpayer? Already the US has 33 payloads in orbit, has 119 earth-orbiting heaps of debris and 72 decayed objects; the Soviet Union has three payloads up and 35 decayed objects. Is space going to be earth's rubbish heap?

Virtually all national communications systems outside America are state-owned. Telstar won't change this. A communications satellite sounds gentle and friendly, it can report weather, relay a TV soap opera or handle a message about Mary's new baby. It all sounds chuckly and entertaining! But it can also probably before long carry a thermonuclear charge deliverable on the ground below by coded radio command. Is it wise for us, for the Russians – for Santo Domingo – to have such things in the air under national, let alone private, control? Telstar is going to be a fine news story. But it is also going to shove crucial decisions into our lap. If ever there was a time for UN supervision it is now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 147 Number 3 Issue 2489 July 16, 1962*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1962, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

THE WEEK

1. Time to Cut; Billie Sol's Friends; Footnotes to the Week; Blackmail by Tshombe; The Lobby Network; Peru's Next President

ARTICLES

8. Trademen and Admen
by Alastair Burnet

10. The Superficial Aspect
by Gerald W. Johnson

11. The Church in America
by Michael Novak

15. What Is Representative Government?
by Gus Tyler

DEPARTMENTS

20. Books *27. Records*

28. Movies *29. Correspondence*

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Selig S. Harrison, Managing Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
Christopher Jencks, Associate Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:

Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Sidney Hyman, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

Time to Cut

goods have been declining steadily since March; stock prices have not only shown the worst drop in a generation but have been dropping persistently for more than three months. In the past, these lead indicators started downward about six months prior to a recession. None of these dismal bulletins has gone unread by the Administration. But what is the prudent thing to do? The first question put to the President at his July 5 press conference concerned the possibility of a tax cut this year. His reply was one of watchful reluctance; he was taking seriously the advice of the Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO, both of which favor a reduction this session, though they differ on whose taxes should be cut. But Mr. Kennedy also said: "We have, as you know, planned a tax cut and tax reform to come next year, and we, of course, would prefer to maintain that schedule." He also pointed out that the new tax depreciation schedule would be released within the week and reminded the reporters of recommended legislation that is languishing in the House Ways and Means Committee – including a bill giving the President discretionary power to change tax schedules to compensate for swings in the business cycle.

His comments reflect an acute dilemma. The White House must balance the relative desirability of a simple shot in the arm now against the need for Congressional approval of the more handtooled tax reform measure that is in preparation for presentation in 1963, a nonelection year. Would the former lessen the chances of obtaining the latter? Moreover, would asking for a tax cut now further jeopardize the already slim chance of getting Congress to approve the Administration's pending requests, including the withholding tax on income from interest and dividends, a tax credit on new investment in plant and machinery, and higher taxes on savings and loan associations and US-owned companies abroad?

If the economic indicators were not so pessimistic, one might conclude that hesitation is the best policy, and that the President should not risk upsetting his legislative schedule by seeking any emergency, short-term tax cut. But the luxury of delay does not seem warranted by the figures.

This late in the session, however, only a very simple cut could be expected to pass the Congress. But there is little doubt it would pass. An across-the-board reduction, while it would be attacked by Senator Byrd as "fiscal irresponsibility," would be swallowed with pleasure by most politicians running for office this fall. Anything more complicated, on the other hand, would draw special fire, both from the interests affected whose habit is to prefer relief in another form than that in which it is offered, and from their opponents who would like

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Scalpel."

to see relief dispensed in a different way. By the time all sides had been heard, the long debate would be likely to end in postponement.

The Administration must thus judge how much relief can and should be offered now without too badly compromising the chances of what must be done later. If too much is done now, the President's 1963 tax reform package will seem less attractive to the legislators when it comes before them.

But there is a middle-way that satisfies both short-term and longer-term requirements. A two percent across-the-board reduction that is regarded in Washington as reasonable over a two-year period would, at present yields, amount to around $5 billion. Why not split the amount in two? A cut this year in personal income rates of one percentage point could result in about $2 billion less federal revenue; a similar reduction in corporate rates would reduce the tax take of the government by about $500 million. A bill that would give one percentage point relief this year, permitting another one percentage point cut in '63, would keep some incentive in reserve (*i.e.*, another $2.5 billion reduction). And it should be noted that if tax reform is accomplished next year, that is if tax loopholes are closed, additional cuts might be made without reducing general revenue.

A cut of one percentage point in income and corporate taxes would give a considerable boost to the economy. It would change the amount of after-tax money and so stimulate spending by both individuals and businesses.

The need for thorough tax reform will of course remain, and for reasons that are buried in the history of tax legislation. The present tax structure was set during World War II, largely to stop inflation. It did stop the upward spiral and it provided the surpluses of 1951 and '52. Added brakes to spending were applied during the Korean War. The 1954 tax revision continued many of the same high rates, while revising the rules on depreciation and providing dividend credits for individuals. In addition, over the years state and local taxes – primarily on sales and property – have been climbing with monotonous regularity, and with the higher social security taxes effective this January, even the federal tax schedule has been creeping upward. As a result, individual tax burdens are heavier today than they were in 1954; and we have learned that too high tax rates can inhibit economic growth. A basic revision of the tax structure, one that encourages new investment that can produce long-run growth, is needed.

But such a basic revision is not inconsistent with action now to arrest the slide. Growth is not accelerating today. Unemployment is not diminishing in anything like the way candidate Kennedy held out as an objective two years ago. The country seems about to experience another abortion of a recovery. The judgment which the Executive must make is whether this downswing, which might be offset by an immediate tax cut, must be reversed, even at the risk of diminishing the chance of a broader tax overhaul next year. In our judgment, the risk should be taken.

One obvious solution is for Congress to grant the President the authority he wants to make temporary tax reductions as necessary, even if Congress is not in session. This delegation is long overdue. The situation has not altered since Professor Alvin Hansen wrote in 1947: "The President in his Economic Report transmitted to Congress on January 8, 1947, referred to the possibility of an impending recession and stated that the 'government will watch this situation and be prepared for action if needed'. This statement by the President is heartily to be welcomed and it is not altogether true that he was simply 'whistling in the dark'. We are, in fact, far better prepared to act now than we were in 1929. Nevertheless, it is a fact that in no small measure the President *was* 'whistling in the dark'. We do not have a program that can quickly be put into action to stem a rapidly cumulating depression."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Essentially the same point was made July 9, 1962, with regard to the '58 recession, when Professor James S. Dusenberry of Harvard, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee, stressed the urgency of counter-recessional action being taken at the moment when a concensus of economists can be said to exist. Such existed by late summer of '57, but no action – even in monetary policy – took place until November.

If discretionary authority is not promptly granted the President, he has the option of putting the responsibility squarely on Congress. Legislators can read the signs. And the signs call for an across-the-board tax cut, passage of pending tax revisions, as well as standby authority permitting the President to spend $2 billion on public works.

Billie Sol's Friends

Two modestly-paid Oklahomans, Louis Dumas and Arthur Stone, both employed by the Department of Agriculture for more than 25 years, admit that they lied ("I was simply scared") when they earlier testified they never received "anything of value" from Billie Sol Estes. They got $1640.80 for favors done, and a suspension from their jobs. What other low insects Senator McClellan's subcommittee may uncover in the cotton patches must give honest Orville Freeman anxious moments, for the Secretary is the boss of almost 100,000 employees, few of whom he hired. And Billie Sol Estes may not be the only bollweevil.

The central point of the Estes case is his juggling of cotton allotments. It was this that first drew upon him the notice of the Department and led to the imposition of penalties of $48,000 and subsequently of $554,000. Today, as a consequence, Billie Sol is being tried, investigated about many things. In the state of Texas he is involved in bankruptcy proceedings in one place, a prosecution for conspiracy to violate local antimonopoly statues in another; in his home town of Pecos he is charged with plain theft, and in Franklin, Texas, he is under grand jury investigation in connection with the puzzling death of a Department of Agriculture official who, when alive, was investigating cotton allotment transfers in Estes' area.

On the day Senator McClellan's hearings began, the judge presiding over the theft trial in Pecos ordered a change of venue to another Texas town over 500 miles away, despite strenuous protests from Billie's lawyer. This particular proceeding is based on complaints that Estes had fraudulently taken $828,000 from six Pecos farmers (which shows, incidentally, how successfully the US cotton price support program has worked to raise farmer income and assets). Sentiment toward Billie in his own town has changed. He is now re-

Footnotes *to the* Week

QUEMOY AND MATSU are the most heavily garrisoned of the offshore islands now threatened by a Chinese military buildup, but Defense Department strategists are worried that the lightly fortified islets of Erhtan and Tatan to the south might be singled out as the initial target of a Communist offensive. Militarily, the rocky "satellite" isles five miles off the coast pose even more ticklish logistic and tactical problems than the major offshore islands. —— HEW SECRETARY RIBICOFF's *suggestion of a tax credit to parents of private school pupils reflects Democratic concern over the effect the school issue may have in the coming Congressional elections. Opponents of exclusive federal aid to public schools see the Supreme Court decision in the prayer case as a great aid to their cause. The Administration calculates that Republican candidates for Congress may gain through the conflict between Irish and Jewish elements in the Democratic Party in New York and other key states.* —— AFGHANISTAN PLANNERS are pressing for some form of long-term US aid estimate in mapping their new five-year development program. The Afghans hope for $350 million in US aid as a counterweight to a projected $700 million in Soviet assistance. In the absence of Treasury borrowing authority, aid officials explain, the US cannot pledge long-term commitments. But Kabul would settle for project-by-project pledges or an official indication of expected aid levels without direct reference to the time span. —— FINAL RETURNS *from the June 5 California primary elections give Democratic strategists added hope of unseating Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel. Semi-official statistics show that Democratic candidate Richard Richards (now State Senator from Los Angeles County) polled 319,536 more votes than Kuchel. Richards ran ahead in 41 counties claiming 77.9 percent of total state registration.* —— MILITANT BUDDHISTS of the Nichiren sect won new status as the third largest bloc in the upper house of the Diet in the Japanese elections on July 1. Although the Soka Gakkai (literally, Value Creation) Society numbers only 15 members in the 250-member upper chamber, the sect's 4 million vote showing has alarmed centrist politicians who fear the rise of a new right-wing nationalism. —— BRITISH NUCLEAR *experts headed by Sir Michael Wright were in Washington last week urging the Administration to scale down its criteria for inspection of the proposed nuclear test ban when the Disarmament Conference reconvenes July 16. Their visit coincided with the release of new US data on the incidence of earthquakes indicating that detection techniques might prove more reliable than hitherto supposed.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

garded by his neighbors as a persecuted rather than prosecuted man because many think that wheeler-dealers whom he is charged with defrauding knew what they were doing when they did business with another, if considerably bigger, wheeler-dealer.

The report presented to the McClellan subcommittee by the assistant counsel of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations was the first to deal exhaustively with the illegal transfer of cotton allotment. It shows that the officials administering the cotton price supports and acreage allotments were ignorant of the Department of Agriculture's written regulations. Was their ignorance deliberate? Possibly. Agricultural legislation is a tissue of amendments as complex as the US Internal Revenue Code, which it resembles except for the fact that its rules govern paying money out rather than taking it in. The principle of home-rule administration of this complicated law by elected committees of farmers, serving as directors to oversee the work of civil service employees who actually carry out the day-to-day operations, led to a laxity of performance in which anything could happen.

The Texas local and state Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service committees (which employed Dumas and Stone) say they knew nothing of regulations which should have caused them to disapprove of Billie Sol's manipulations. And the McClellan subcommittee investigators themselves complain that despite a search of the Department's records in Washington by a staff of 45 experienced men they are not yet sure they have all the facts relating to this case. No written account of any kind was kept, apparently, of the conferences in the Department at which Billie Sol's allotment transfers were reviewed and approved. The investigators conclude that the federal farm program encourages dishonesty because it invites inefficiency.

Secretary Freeman has taken a first step toward dealing with the basic source of the difficulties in appointing an eight-man study committee of farm and public administration experts to evaluate the farmer committee system which administers price support and other agricultural programs in the states and communities, programs which, together with the operations of the Department in Washington, cost between $6 and $7 billion each year.

Blackmail by Tshombe

The Congo has not been much in the news lately, but in this instance no news is hardly good news. Moise Tshombe is sitting tight in Katanga, believing that time is on his side. The United Nations has neither the means nor the authority to end Katanga's secession. Nor has the central government the military or financial power to absorb Katanga by force, though this is no guarantee that the Soviet Union will not encourage military adventures, or that premier Cyrille Adoula will not seek to bolster his shaky position by a new offensive against Tshombe.

"Why Can't They All Be Like Tshombe?"

The acting Secretary General of the UN said in London last week that he hoped the Security Council would soon debate the worsening situation and give him fresh orders. But he rejected the idea that the UN had the intention of using "any military initiative." He hopes to have about $165 million to carry on UN operations in the Congo through December, but $95 million of this must come from the US, and Congress has not yet approved US purchase of UN bonds.

The central stumbling block to unification of the Congo – which is the only alternative to its further disintegration – is not, however, the lack of UN funds or even the ambitions of Tshombe or the central government. The secession of Katanga is made possible by the business-as-usual attitude of two concerns, the largely Belgian copper mining firm of Union Miniere and Tanganyika Concessions, which is controlled by British investors and operates the railroad line into Katanga. Between them they pay Mr. Tshombe's debts. U Thant took note of this when he said he is trying to get Union Miniere to divert some of its huge mining

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revenues to the central government. Thus far, both concerns have expressed supreme indifference to the desires of both the United Nations and the foreign offices of their own countries. If these companies were persuaded to divert revenues to the central government or at least to withhold them from Katanga pending unification of the Congo, the civil war would be over.

Meanwhile, Mr. Tshombe and his followers continue to play a blackmail game, threatening to blow up the installations of the Union Miniere if the firm stops its tax payments. The new UN plan announced by U Thant to post special guard detachments at Union Miniere installations is unlikely to induce the cooperation of the company in the absence of greatly stepped-up US pressure in London and Brussels.

The Lobby Network

Tommy Manville in charge of a study of repetitive marriage would have been too much. Accordingly the withdrawal of Senator Dodd, a former lobbyist for the Dominican Republic, from an inquiry into lobbying at the Capitol on behalf of foreign governments was a proper gesture.

Anyway, the problems are wider and more subtle than the topic of interest to the Judiciary Committee investigation, now called off – namely, irregularities in connection with the legislation parceling out sugar subsidies. Sugar is only a sideshow. A Senatorial inquiry should have a wider focus and be carried on with great care over a long term and after thorough preparation. The study to be undertaken by the Foreign Relations Committee promises to be of such quality.

Such an inquiry, moreover, must be exacting. Congress has dug the bog in which it is now mired. The earmarking of funds and of market privileges for other governments has no proper place in legislation. Bargaining over such economic benefits is properly carried on by the Executive Branch. The channels by which other governments press their interests should be diplomatic channels. Congress opened the way to lobbying by foreign governments in its practice of earmarking – a bad mistake, for which there is no solution short of giving it up altogether.

It will be awkward for the Foreign Relations Committee to expose the degree of involvement of Congress in the consequences of its follies, but this will be necessary if the inquiry is to be honest. Inhibitions because of the fear that the facts about lobbying on behalf of foreign clients will alienate the public from foreign aid itself should be put aside. In the long run a prevailing number of Americans will understand the conditions which make public relations on behalf of foreign governments a thriving business, for virtually all nations are intent upon creating good impressions abroad. Their capabilities for doing so on their own are often limited – especially so among emergent nations without any history or reputation to draw on and with an urgency to make their existence known to others and credible to themselves. And so they hire lobbyists to speak for them – lobbyists whom the American people are indirectly subsidizing. Americans generally will be able to understand that the economic benefits dispensed by the US are of enormous importance to a number of other countries and that some of them are drawn into taking zealous initiatives to ensure their shares.

COMING

Decision in South Asia

by Selig S. Harrison

Peru's Next President

Since none of Peru's three Presidential candidates won the required number of the votes in last month's general elections the Peruvian Congress will decide on July 28 who of the three is to be the country's next President. Dr. Haya de la Torre, the moderately left-wing anti-Communist leader of the APRA party is said to have polled 14,000 votes more than his nearest rival, Fernando Belaunde Terry of the Popular Action Party, and APRA secured 114 of 241 seats in the Congress. But the authenticity of this slim lead has been challenged by the Peruvian Army which alleges fraudulent voting in the northern regions of Peru where APRA is dominant. While the Army has a long-standing grudge against Haya, its protests cannot be wholly discounted.

The story behind the disputed elections goes back at least to 1956 when Manuel Prado was elected President. Since that time the Prado family has acquired dominating positions in a number of Peru's growing industries. They have interests in cement plants and an oil refinery; they control a mixed corporation which runs the state steel mill. A few weeks before this year's campaign, a Presidential decree excepted the cement plant and oil refinery from certain taxes. Prado's extensive campaign contributions to Haya suggest that the Prado family felt an APRA victory would make its investments more secure than a Belaunde victory.

Before the election President Prado had packed the Peruvian electoral court and the election boards with members of Dr. Haya's party. APRA was allowed to take the election books to its party headquarters, where

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

registrations took place. Minors and illiterates, constitutionally prohibited from voting, were enrolled on the voting lists. (Peru has a literacy requirement for voting and only 40 percent of the population is able to read and write.) The Army first got wind of this when some of the new inscriptions were checked against military service records. A Lima judge, asked to examine 1,400 new inscriptions, disqualified half.

On election day, the indelible ink that is placed on a finger of those persons who have already voted was found to last no longer than a trip to the wash basin. In some northern districts, there were more votes for Dr. Haya than there were known qualified voters.

Although Dr. Haya, the grand old man of reform in Latin America, has had an excellent press in the US, little has been written about the second runner, Belaunde. The American public barely knows of him. He is a young man, an architect educated in the US, as eager as Dr. Haya to correct the injustices of the Peruvian economy. The way his words were constantly distorted throughout the campaign to insinuate that he was a Communist sympathizer (he is not) indicates that certain people believe that he might really do what he says he would do – institute badly needed reforms.

Reform is badly needed. Pedro Beltrán, a Washington favorite during both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, ran the Peruvian economy from 1959 to 1961 according to the strictest rules of free enterprise: a balanced budget, convertible currency, no export taxes on the big American iron and copper companies and price increases for the Standard Oil and IT&T monopolies. The resulting statistics looked good. Foreign investment and dollar reserves have risen, the balance of trade is favorable, and the *sol* is one of the most stable currencies in Latin America. But almost all of the benefits went to foreign investors and a tight little oligarchy. Beltrán's was a banker's prosperity. Per capita income in the *sierra*, where most of the Indian majority lives, is less than $50 a year; for all of Peru the *average* daily diet is less than 1,500 calories and life expectancy below 45 years. Economic growth has not kept up with a population increase of 2.8 percent a year; per capita income fell 2.7 percent between 1958 and 1961. Beltrán and outgoing President Prado gave lip service to tax reform, but accomplished little.

After four years' study a land reform commission headed by a lawyer for the Cerro de Pasco corporation produced a bill which will not affect the 3,500 *hacendados* who own two-thirds of the nation's arable land. Instead the desperate problems of Peru's millions of landless peasants are to be solved by resettling them in the trackless jungle lands east of the Andes – an utterly impractical scheme which even Prado admits will take 40 years to complete, without taking population increases into account.

Despite these conditions *fidelismo* in Peru is still embryonic. Both General Odria (the third candidate) and Haya denounced Castro during their election campaigns, and Belaunde followed suit when Cuba's bearded leader took Ecuador's side in a long-simmering boundary dispute; the *fidelista* National Liberation Front (FLN) fell apart and did not present any candidates. But sentiment for revolutionary change is rising. Strikes on the coastal cotton plantations and armed seizures of land in the *sierra* by half-starved Indians have been put down by the Army, with considerable bloodshed. The students at the University of San Marcos, who attacked Mr. Nixon four years ago, are as bitterly anti-Yankee as ever. And the 300,000 slum-dwellers in Lima's *barriadas* are increasingly restive.

IS COMMERCIAL TV DEGRADING BRITISH TASTES?

Trademen and Admen

London

The most apoplectic of rows has broken out after the searing condemnation of the British commercial television companies by the Pilkington committee, appointed two years ago to look into the state of British broadcasting. The committee was unanimously warm in its praise for the BBC ("Washed it whiter than white," said one Tory minister, a trifle ruefully) and unanimously hostile to the independent television network, the one that takes ads and is watched by two-thirds of the viewing audience, which came into being after the Tories had decided to break the BBC's monopoly in 1954. ITV's record, the committee declared, "falls well short of what a good public service of broadcasting should be." An example of British understatement.

Not only did the committee hold ITV directly responsible for the moral decline it found in television broadcasting standards; it went on to conclude that untrammelled commercialism and the public interest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were downright incompatible on the British air. It recommended that the next television network should be given immediately to the BBC, that the ITV network should be run under tight, central control, and that the existing ITV companies should merely produce programs (instead of transmitting them themselves) for the revised ITV authority to buy. The criterion for the network would thus be the elevation of taste, not a pandering to the low-brow preference for violence and trivia. If the reformed ITV behaved for five years it might then be rewarded with a second channel of its own.

No sooner had Sir Harry Pilkington, a glass manufacturer and owner of the largest private company in the country, delivered himself of these paternalist sentiments than the howls of dismay rose up on all sides. "Pilkington Tells the Public to Go to Hell" said the *Daily Mirror*, taking all its front page to say it. The press promptly divided between the liberal anti-monopolists (most of whom, including the *Mirror*, have shares in commercial telly) and the pro-BBC establishment, including *The Times* (although it professed doubts about the actual argument put up by Pilkington's intellectually-undistinguished team) and Lord Beaverbrook's *Express*, which does not possess a television franchise. The Labour Party welcomed Pilkington, despite the popularity of ITV in working-class, *Mirror*-reading homes, and so did the Liberals and the teachers' union. From the BBC came the gentle cooing of vindicated doves.

But the Tories have been rent from head to foot. The government, in its first comment, contented itself with approving Pilkington's technical recommendations (*e.g.* the changeover for a picture of 405 lines to one of 625 lines, in keeping with most European countries) and agreed that the BBC should have the third channel. It is not, however, in a mood to carve up ITV and thus, by implication, condemn its own decision in 1954. It badly needs to think things out.

The cabinet is in a peculiarly sensitive state. Such stalwarts as Rab Butler and Lord Hailsham have never been happy about deserting the BBC in 1954. Hailsham himself was one of the most vociferous of campaigners against setting up a commercial network at all, and many High Tories of the old school stand by the principle of a public, educative service. But other ministers are equally convinced that Conservatism stands for competition. It was Selwyn Lloyd, then a backbencher, who produced the minority report against the BBC's monopoly in the last inquiry in 1951. Two months ago Lord Reith, the director-general who really built the BBC and fashioned its image, launched a stinging personal attack in the House of Lords on the Tory ministers responsible for the 1954 act; the allegations against the commercial television lobby, and its relations with Conservative MPs, have left some impressions that the government would like to bury. The reopening of old scores happens to be particularly unwelcome to the younger Tory leaders like Iain MacLeod who want to project the party at the next election as a high-minded champion of the consumers' interest, and to play down Macmillan's "never-had-it-so-good" materialism of 1959, which had pushed washing machines, television sets and iceboxes into working-class homes – largely by using the new advertising medium provided by ITV.

The opponents of ITV dislike its profits (advertising revenue has risen from £12 million in 1956, when the service started in London, to £93 million last year); they are inordinately fond of quoting the Canadian Roy Thomson, who owns the Scottish franchise, to the effect that he had been "given a license to print money." Equally, they dislike its bias toward Westerns, cops-and-robbers and the mid-Atlantic world of pop singers and (declining) Hollywood stars. The protagonists of the independent companies say that ITV at its best has sharpened up news presentation and public affairs programs, and introduced some social realism into serials (like the topmost-rated "Coronation Street," set in the backwater of a murky Lancashire textile town). If the profits are the trouble, they say, then tax them – and use the money to develop a badly-needed educational channel (*e.g.* to teach adult Britons a European language or provide badly needed technical programs for the great majority of British children who still leave school at 15). Better still, set up more commercial channels to provide real competition.

In this debate lies the crux of what British society is going to try to make of itself in the present generation. Do its liberals still believe in competition and thus accept the risk that commercial competition in this medium may drive down standards to the lowest common denominator? Is the British mass audience really adult enough to take advertising as it comes, and reject what is pernicious? (If so, what politician will dare to say it openly?) Or is the full responsibility to be placed on one – or two – BBCs, conducted with high purpose but still susceptible to the pressure to conform, in all things, to the stuffy ideas of the Establishment – a pressure that has in the past led to the equation of the good with the merely innocuous?

There are two streams meeting here that do not conform to party or class lines: paternalists, who range from High Tories to the Trades Union Congress, with their moralizing and rather authoritarian supporters, and on the other side the commercial groups, popular because they fill a vast entertainment need and stimulate consumer goods sales, but dominated, so far, by the lure of easy money. Now everyone waits to see which channel Uncle Mac watches – if any.

Alastair Burnet

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Witness for the Prosecution

The rapid Mr. Gilbert, who got across the Brazilian border still one jump ahead of the catchpolls, demonstrated an agility much too remarkable to be accepted as an American trait. The overcrowded condition of the state and federal penitentiaries is conclusive evidence that the vast majority of his kind are not fast enough.

Where Mr. Gilbert comes much closer to being the representative American is in the nature of the defense he and his friends are offering. It is, briefly, that his moral turpitude consisted in running into bad luck. If the market had continued to rise, he would have been all right. Even after the plunge of May 28, if it had maintained its recovery he might have scraped through; and if he had scraped through, there would have been no occasion for questioning his activities.

There is a strong intimation, also, that the market would not have acted in any such way except for That Man in the White House. When he had the insolence to speak sharply to the steel tycoons who had double-crossed him, the world turned upside down; for it is a reversed world in which a mere President of the United States will dare be disrespectful to Big Business. In such a world people who play the market with other people's money will of course be branded as thieves and the tipstaves will be abroad with warrants. But men of the world are aware that the gravamen of the offense is not in stealing the money, but in losing it, and if that is the fault of someone else, the operator is merely a victim.

Logically, then, we should indict President Kennedy and call Gilbert as a witness for the prosecution.

Yet it seems improbable that this reasoning will avail to soothe the breasts of the stockholders whose two million have gone where the woodbine twineth not because the market collapsed, but because Mr. Gilbert was in it with their money. It is, indeed, probable that if the play had succeeded, they would have said never a word; instead, they might have lauded Mr. Gilbert as Billie Sol Estes was lauded, a new Boy Wonder of finance.

But a rap on the pocket nerve has a wondrous effect in renewing faith in the old moralities; it gives us to understand that a man who takes other people's money for purposes that they have not authorized becomes a thief the instant he lays his hands on the money, not when he loses it. If he does not lose it, but returns it with usury, he remains a thief, although he usually stays out of jail.

But to suggest that any such stern code is lived up to, or even approved with a whole heart by Americans who have not been stung by the operations of the financial highbinders is perhaps impractical idealism. It might lead to a really ruthless investigation of market practices. For really practical idealism commends us, rather, to the current probe of the alleged dereliction of the ecdysiasts' union in not preventing B-girls from engaging in the blushful practices common among B-girls since the days of Rahab. This is, in fact, doubly practical. In the first place, it is a wallop at a labor union delivered at a moment when walloping labor unions seems to be in vogue; and in the second place, it is the surest and at the same time the cheapest method of demonstrating civic virtue in a spectacular way.

The fact that the cop on the beat is the only man who can do much toward sweeping prostitution off the streets – which is about all that anybody has ever done with it – is not a disadvantage. Congress can be tremendously busy "creating the image," secure in the knowledge that City Hall will have to do the work, because only City Hall can find and keep honest cops.

No, it is not in his agility that Mr. Gilbert is representative of his native land. Would that it were! It is rather in his implicit faith that the essence of criminality is in getting caught; and the assumption, predicated on that faith, that the most effective palliation of any malefaction whatever is to blame it on the man in the White House. This is not totally devoid of rationality. Since approximately half the population, being opposed to him politically, is avid of an excuse to denounce the fellow, anything that may be used against him starts with a favorable chance of acceptance, especially by those little inclined to the labor of thinking.

Yet a doubt lingers that Mr. Gilbert will have much success with it. When all is said and done, the fact remains that he did burn his own stockholders, and that is seriously regarded even by those who take lightly the charge that he did the government out of three millions in income taxes. What he has certainly accomplished is to make it a trifle embarrassing for the treasurer of any American corporation to admit that he is planning a winter vacation in Rio. It may precipitate demands for an immediate audit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Church in America

A Lay Catholic Views the Clergy

by Michael Novak

"The Church," a friend of mine parodies Chateaubriand, "is much too valuable to entrust to the clergy." He voices the sentiments of an increasing number of American Catholic laymen; and that seems to promise an uncomfortable but fruitful time ahead for American Catholicism. In Colorado on May 27 and in California on June 9, Monsignor John Truy Ellis, Professor of Church History at Catholic University, devoted commencement addresses to the role of the American Catholic layman, urged freedom for him "to plan, to speak and to act," and frankly noted the anti-clericalism that is growing in America. Seven years ago Msgr. Ellis touched off the debate on Catholic intellectual life that is still raging; his present theme cannot have been chosen by accident.

The American Catholic Church is cleric-conscious. Not so voiceless as in Ireland or Spain, American Catholic laymen are nevertheless quiet and respectful compared to others in the Church's history. Dante, figuratively, sent popes to hell. Chaucer drew an exquisitely damning portrait of his cultivated prioress, not to mention what he did to pardoner and monks. "Clerics . . . have much in the mouth," William Langland wrote in *Piers Plowman;* and he complained poignantly that they were as removed from Christ as others in the realm. Often in ecclesiastical history the wielders of tart critical tongues (Catherine of Siena) and upholders of individual conscience (Joan of Arc) show up a generation after their death on the calendar of saints.

Closer to our own time, the searing and almost unprintable language of Leon Bloy shattered many a sweet-faced plaster statue in bourgeois France, and freed for many young people – among them Georges Rouault, the Maritains, Mauriac and Claudel – the harsh, pure spirit of prophecy. In *The Diary of a Country Priest*, Georges Bernanos wrote: "The word of God is a red-hot iron. . . . Comforting truths, they call it! . . . Why, the priest who descends the pulpit of Truth, with a mouth like a hen's vent, a little hot but pleased with himself, he's not been preaching: at best he's been purring like a tabbycat." In a much more gentlemanly fashion – but he was an Englishman – the eminent Newman is said to have risen for a toast, at a banquet upon his reception of the Cardinal's hat, and to have said quietly: "To conscience. And to the Pope."

Many believers and unbelievers alike make faith a blind affair. For them there is no *both-and;* everything is *either-or.* For professional anti-Catholics, religious authority is as clear as Hitler's Reich, and I am afraid that for some believers it is also that clear, though infinitely more benevolent, limited in scope, and moral rather than physical. Professor Zahn's new book *German Catholics and Hitler's War* suggests the complexity: where individual conscience has no voice against authority, the gospels suffer. For the Catholic, individual conscience and the authority of the Church are both indispensable.

But as in other institutions the non-official power easily becomes a mere formality. In the liturgy for the ordination of a priest, for example, the bishop exhorts the laity to help him decide whether the young men are worthy. "As the judgment of one person, or even of several, may be affected and misled by favor and partiality, it is well to ascertain the general opinion. . . . If then anyone has aught to their prejudice, for God's sake and in God's name let him boldly come forward and speak. . . ." Yet this exhortation is no longer acted upon; it is the record of a much more plain straightforward faith (500-700 AD).

There are wide extremes even among intelligent Catholics on the role of clerical authority. In the last century, Wilfred Ward, one of the most active agitators on the issue of Papal Infallibility, is reported to have desired nothing more than to find a new papal encyclical waiting for him every morning at breakfast. The taste of other Catholics runs to different breakfast reading. The Catholics at the *National Review* hadn't minded papal thinking, and had even rather suggested that they represented the leading edge of traditional religious thinking in the West, but with their flippant *Mater si, Magistra no!* they became independent. The point is that there is no "Catholic view" which a free, independent journal run by laymen has to follow. (An official organ of a bishop is another matter.) The competence of a journal of public affairs lies in the realm

MICHAEL NOVAK, *a graduate student in Philosophy at Harvard, is the author of a novel,* The Tiber Was Silver, *and has contributed to* Harper's, Commonweal *and* Theological Studies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of this world and its concerns, and that realm is uniquely the layman's.

What does this realm include? The world is not divided into sacred and profane – one part religion and the rest secular; such a division effectively removes religion from life. Christian life is not icing on a cake; it is yeast in bread. However, all life is not to be subordinated to clerical judgment, nor is a "kingdom of God" to be built on earth. This is the temptation of the Grand Inquisitor and religious idealists generally; it is an effort to fix religion in a social system, to mass-produce saints, to put God in human hands, at the bidding of human methods. The naïve medieval solution was doomed for all its hopes to fall prey to Machiavellians.

The Layman's Competence

The crucial question is how far the gospels can be realized in present conditions. How, most safely – both for the gospels and for men? The realities of any moment allow only so much of the idea to be realized. Segregation is clearly against Christian conscience. Yet some bishops tolerate abuse while others wield excommunication. Laymen have an indispensable role to play in these debates, for they are experts in estimating "present conditions." In proportion as an issue requires judgment of present conditions rather than of doctrine, the layman's competence and authority grows. Thomas à Becket was admirable for his opposition to Henry II; the bishops of Puerto Rico entered a trickier realm in 1960. Their vocation entails speaking out on the gospels at whatever cost in popularity; but a democracy has its own rules and these they did not observe.

Generally, the Latin countries and Ireland lean heavily toward paternalism in Church affairs. It may be significant that these societies are largely agricultural and poor. From the point of view of the non-believing liberal, there is a causal connection between their Catholicism and their backwardness. From the point of view of their local clergy, there is a connection between the "material" progress of the industrial countries and their Protestantism and secularism. It is from these two points of view that the image of a feudal, obscurantist Church versus the aggressive march of time draws continued sustenance. But it is long since out of date. The Catholic spirit of France, Germany and the Lowlands, for example, is a great deal more independent and creative than in the poorer Mediterranean countries. Somewhat ironically, the last 75 years have witnessed an alliance between lay intellectuals and "liberal popes," in which both have often had to go over the heads of the intermediate clergy.

Leo XIII sadly admitted that the tragedy of the 19th Century for the Church was the loss of the working classes. In *Rerum Novarum*, his own manifesto on the social order, conceived with the help of vigorous Catholic intellectuals in the north, Leo urged a new relationship of the gospels and the world. Leo's conception has been tagged "liberal," not because it shares the motivation of the non-believing liberal, but because for different reasons and with different criteria it often joins the same battles. Leo's fundamental notion is that human society is called to grow up into the idealism of the gospels – a social order of freedom, justice and love. *Rerum Novarum* turned Catholicism away from the individualistic piety of "saving one's soul" to the larger task of realizing the gospels in all aspects of personal, social and institutional life. The method was not to be by fiat from above, but organically, by Christians living as Christians in their lay tasks. Catholicism, therefore, became a revolutionary moral force *vis-à-vis* bourgeois society – the society which nourishes the anesthetized Christianity which Nietzsche reviled. In practice, of course, the innate conservatism of the Church as an institution has often prevailed, and many Catholics furiously resist the "new things" Leo announced.

What effect the coming of industrialization and democracy is going to have on the Italian clergy, or what the influx of tourists, students and Western books will do in Spain, is still unclear. But it is quite certain now that, on the eve of this winter's Vatican Council, the clergy from non-democratic, non-industrial societies quite outnumber the more liberal clergy of the north. Of more than 250 American bishops, most seem to have been prevented by the immigrant ghettos from having grasped the impact of the American experience; they seem largely to think with the Italians. Perhaps this is because so many of them are canon lawyers and administrators, trained in Rome, and a little overawed by having risen from the ranks of the American lower middle class to their high posts in the international Church. (There are, of course, important exceptions, especially among the younger priests.)

Some of the national differences have come out clearly in recent months. Hans Küng, a German theologian of impressive fame for his 32 years, recently published *The Council, Reform and Reunion*, as scathing a critique of the life of the Church as our generation has seen; two Cardinals – one Austrian, one French – contributed forewords. In Italy, a not wholly dissimilar effort by the Jesuit Lombardi was publicly censured in the official *Osservatore Romano*, and withdrawn from circulation. In the United States infinitely lesser rumblings have won cautions from the Apostolic Delegate, charges of "insolence" from a bishop in New Jersey, and admonitions from a bishop in California (names unnamed, articles uncited). *The Commonweal* generally bears the implicit brunt of such attacks – it has, to cite one example, recently criticized some bish-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ops, while it has praised others.

American Catholics have a deep and in some ways admirable respect for their clergy. In the first place, in the struggles of immigration and adaptation, the clergy kept them together. In the second place, the American clergy have at least until recently been without much influence within the Establishment, and so have been far more on the side of the laboring man and the unions than their European counterparts. The intercession of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland in Rome figured prominently in Leo XIII's defense of the working man in *Rerum Novarum*. Again, American Catholics are drawn largely from European peasant stock, and they brought the peasant's reverence for God's ministers with them to the American cities. There, American nativist prejudice threw priest and parishioner together, whereas in Europe the struggles of the proletariat and the very poor often separated the European Catholic from his clergy. In Rome, little boys sometimes shout "*Cockroaches! Parasites!*" to clerics as they pass in the street; in America, on the other hand, they grow red in the face, bow, or duck, and say: "Good afternoon, Father."

This American respect for the clergy can be an Achilles heel, however. For if the layman is not active, critical, and creative, a great deal of energy and talent is lost to the Church. The trouble is, the older generations – both clerical and lay – thought of the Church as pretty much clerical. The layman sat and listened, and dipped his hand into his pocket. Father did the rest. And what Father didn't do, Sister did in the parochial school. Parents largely abdicated their responsibility for the religious education of their children to the Sisters. (Archbishop Ireland insisted, in the last century, that a parochial school system was a mistake; that Catholics in the public schools would do more good both for Catholicism and for America than a separate school system. The other view prevailed.)

Catholic Ghetto

It is not only the shelter of parochial school education, but also the Sunday sermons or, more often, the exhortations and admonitions of the home, that constitute the American Catholic ghetto. The ethos of a group on the defensive is "preserve the faith," "stick together," "listen to your elders," "cause no scandal," "learn to be prudent." The educated layman must soon outgrow this outlook, and the accompanying clerical world view derived from a seminary course duly memorized or a smattering of theology given the nuns; and in his growth he faces crises. His scarred emotions may not let him see clearly afterward; a whole host of American artists – Eugene O'Neill, Hemingway, O'Hara, Farrell, Fitzgerald, Katherine Anne Porter, Mary McCarthy, John Ciardi – broke with their Catholic past (some shaped by it more than others). Many of the talented who did not leave the faith have bitter memories of dull, basically insecure authorities.

The layman knows that the Catholic ghetto has shaped most of the clergy and that the world of the universities and the journals is not familiar to them. Again, the layman realizes that fear and insecurity are at work in the ethos of the ghetto and, naturally enough, among those raised suddenly from the ranks to high places. Just now, any creative or critical movement seems to the safety-conscious a "stepping out of bounds," "unheard of," and even a "betrayal."

Nevertheless, it is very difficult for Catholic intellectuals, looking around at what can be said and done in France and Germany, to understand why American bishops should actually lag *behind* what is permitted. Despite papal permission for afternoon masses, for example, and directives to encourage lay participation in the liturgy, some bishops simply are inert and their dioceses do not share these benefits. What outsiders call a well-heeled, monolithic organization looks to insiders like a clumsy, complicated, power-fragmented body, marvelously subject to obstruction.

The Catholic layman can, however, pursue his own studies and writing, without the clergy ever taking note of him. He is not "official"; he speaks only for himself – unlike the poor priest who, whether he wishes it or not, is taken as speaking for the whole Church. (The point of the *ex cathedra* business, however, is to make clear that only one man, and he but rarely, under stringent conditions, speaks for the whole Church.)

The lay Catholic's largest concern is not with the clergy; it is with defining himself in and against the over-all American intellectual milieu. This milieu is pretty much a middle-class affair. What Ortega y Gasset called a "small town philosophy," positivism, more or less, sets the intellectual tone. Birth control gets people so excited that the French smile on us. There is a general willingness to let ultimate questions go, to concentrate on the proximate ones we can lay hands upon. American intellectual life, in short, is largely aimed at the solution of problems, not at wonder about mysteries; at control over the environment, through social or technological action, not at enjoyment or peace or prayer or leisure or self-discovery. Such intellectual life may be highly successful in turning out a powerful social machine; it grates to shreds the human spirit where faith would take root.

The first task before the Catholic layman on leaving the ghetto is to make himself acceptable by the standards of the powers-that-be in the universities and the publishing or artistic world. Here the convinced materialists and pragmatists are not ideologically aggressive; they are large-minded and humane, and their tolerance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward the religious man is so thick you can cut it with a knife. The Catholic intellectual is naturally tempted to disidentify with his Catholicism, or to mute it into a personal affair for the religious hours of the week. He is likely to be more liberal than the liberals or, in a different manner, more conservative than the conservatives. Since the anti-Semitism of the intellectuals is anti-Catholicism, the temptation for the Catholic – conservative or liberal – is to be not so very Catholic. And besides, it is a full-time job to keep up in the academic race for mastery of the pragmatic and controllable issues.

So the specter of secularized Catholics which the cautious bishop sees lurking in the secular world is not unreal. The condescending non-believer has been all too willing to help the layman "free himself from the control of the Irish clergy" (as it would be said if it could be). "Nice going," the encouragement may seem to say; "keep evolving; you're almost free; glad to see you breaking loose; you're almost one of us." The unbeliever is tempted to think that his own life is the epitome of Western history: the breaking loose from the shackles of the Church. All his favorite shibboleths (I do not deny what truth is in them; I protest the accompanying myths) suggest his inevitable view of Catholicism: "the Dark Ages," "the Inquisition," "Enlightenment," "Liberty of Conscience."

Out in Front

Caught between the ghetto Catholics who look on his critical and creative efforts as selling out to the Paul Blanshards, and the professional anti-Catholics and large-minded liberals who pat him on the back for his every criticism of the clergy, the Catholic layman soon finds he has to set his mind to the task and forget who is reading him and why. He wants to beware of the emotional rebellion of the adolescent; he wants to beware of the Olympian view that reconciles everything and changes nothing. One of his great loves, for many the greatest, is the Church, and he cares about her critically. The clergy is always in danger of complacency, blindness, or abuse of its responsibilities; the laity is prone to its own occupational hazards; the non-believer is prone to succumbing to the spirit of his age. There is a great deal for the lay Catholic *qua* Catholic to be critical about.

When the Church is grown up, there is a kind of tacit balance of power between those who, laymen and clerics, make up the Church. As Newman said, the clergy may be the head of the Mystical Body, but they'd look quite ridiculous without any laymen. And while the power of the clergy is the moral suasion of command, censure, and excommunication, that of the laity is public opinion, the pen, the voice. The role of the educated layman is not to traipse along behind, yea-saying, but to be out in front taking the risks, beginning the assimilation of new cultures and new discoveries.

On the school question, for example, it is doubtful that laymen – if consulted – would have acted in the way the outspoken clerical leaders acted. (It is even doubtful, from signs in the wind, that all the bishops – if consulted – would have supported the outspoken ones. By a venerable tradition, one bishop does not publicly contradict another, and thus the first one to speak seizes a significant tactical advantage.) Studies are not available, but lay opinion is clearly divided on the role and importance of the parochial schools, and on the reasonableness of current bills before the Congress. The danger of the public school's becoming arms of an *Etat enseignant* – perhaps in the hands of loyal Americans of the John Birch variety – and of their tacit inculcation of positivism, is ugly to contemplate. *The Commonweal* has argued that the right to maintain a dissenting school system should not be financially penalized, but has urged that Catholics consider the present common good of the nation before their own needs; and this position, it seems to me, represents the complexity of the situation.

In other perennial domestic conflicts, like civil birth control laws and censorship, it is important to see that the Latin way of dealing with a moral question is, often enough, to slap down a general law or prohibition and to make the individual seek freedom by exception; Anglo-Saxon minds try to give the benefit to liberty, and to close off abuses case by case. These two different *styles* often clash even where there is substantive agreement. Harvard professors watch over the reading matter and movie-going of their children; but Catholic Boston bans by public law.

What then should we ask of the Vatican Council which will meet this winter in Rome? The work of the clergy is primarily to consolidate, to conserve, to speak officially and clearly. In an important sense, a Council or even an encyclical works *behind* the present, in the past, upon issues ripe and mature. One does not ordinarily expect creative risks from a Council. Issues that are ambiguous wait for another generation or two. The Church is not much impressed by the "spirit of the age," any age. But the layman has in our age the ideas of human equality, dignity, freedom, progress to meditate upon – ideas closely related to the Judeo-Christian vision of man, but realizable today more concretely than heretofore. More than the cleric, he comes into contact with these ideas in their social and political context. In these matters, he is the leader, the cleric follows behind. Our situation in America being what it is, sparks are bound to fly. Those sparks have been the glory of the past.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Is Representative Government?

by Gus Tyler

In a recent radio interview, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller was being pressed to explain why he refused to call a special session of the legislature to consider revision of the state's inequitable system of apportionment. As the relentless questioners poked pins into the various defenses of Rockefeller, the Governor finally turned on his assailants. "But what would be your basis for apportionment?" he asked. "Have you got a formula?"

The answer to the Governor's question is presently being sought in about half the states of the union where courts, legislatures, constitutional conventions and the electorate are discovering that it is one thing to agree on the principle of more genuinely representative government and another to set workable standards for reapportioning our legislative assemblies.

In the brief three months since the Supreme Court (in *Baker* v *Carr*) announced its readiness to invade the "political thicket" of reapportionment, there has been court action in 22 states. Further suits are being readied. Before the process is finished, virtually every state in the union will be affected.

The way in which the search for a "formula" proceeds varies from state to state. In the "parent" Tennessee case, the Supreme Court held that legislative apportionment was based on "invidious discrimination," in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and its guarantee of "equal protection of the law." The case was remanded to the US District Court in Tennessee for corrective action.

The federal court decided to give the Tennessee legislature a chance to straighten itself out. The legislature came in with a new apportionment. The court found it unsatisfactory, but gave the legislature a second chance to correct the inequities by June, 1963, while threatening to reopen the case on failure to act.

In the Tennessee case, the court was not immediately confronted with the problem of a proper formula for apportionment. The state constitution provides that both houses be based on population. Court intervention was required to force the legislature to obey its own state constitution, one that it had whimsically ignored for half a century.

The knotty problem of an apportionment formula was first handled in the Georgia case, where the Supreme Court decision has so far had its most immediate and revolutionary impact. In this state, the "county unit" system gave a rural minority control not only over the state legislature but also over the nomination of candidates for state-wide office and even for the House of Representatives. On April 28, a three-judge federal court struck down the use of the existing system in the *primaries*. On May 25, another three-man court (with two of the same judges presiding) ordered a reapportionment of the Georgia House. Both these decisions sought to establish "formulas."

The first of the two decisions allowed the county-unit to stand PROVIDED – provided there was "no discrimination in excess of the disparity that exists against any state in the most recent Electoral College allocation, or under the equal proportions formula for representation of the several states in Congress."

One part of the formula is perfectly clear: the section using Congress as a measure. The "equal proportions" formula is a mathematical equation that divvies up the seats in the House of Representatives among the states as exactly in accordance with population as can be hoped without dividing a Congressman into fractions.

The other part of the formula, modeled after the Electoral College, is somewhat more ambiguous. It could mean that the voters of one county shall have five times as much voting strength as voters in another; or it could mean that no county shall have a per capita voting strength more than 15 percent below the average. Both interpretations require explanation.

Under the most recent allocation of electoral votes, based on the 1960 census Alaska has three electoral votes for a population of about 225,000: one elector for each 75,000 people. California has 40 electoral votes for a population of about 15,700,000: one elector for every 393,000 people. Each Alaskan has an advantage of five to one over each Californian.

The average number of people per elector, nationally, is some 333,000. In California, as noted, there is one elector for every 393,000. Every Californian, consequently, will have about 85 percent as much influence on the outcome of the next Presidential election as the average person nationally.

In either event, the populous states (or counties) have a compensating advantage; namely, the fact that the biggest votes are cast *en bloc*. The fear of the bloc vote from the populous counties may have been responsible for persuading the Georgia State Democratic

---

GUS TYLER *is director of the Political Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Committee on June 28 to hold a primary by popular vote. The Committee was also warned by Governor Vandiver that any other system might invite further court intervention. As a result, Georgia will hold a Democratic Party primary this year on a popular basis for the first time in this century.

In regard to the state legislature, the federal three-man court found that its composition was "irrational" and "arbitrary." Senators representing only 21.4 percent of the population are a majority. In line with the general trend to let the legislature itself have the first crack at repairing its own damage, the court gave the legislature until January, 1963, to "meet constitutional standards." Failing proper reapportionment, the court threatened such total but indefinite action "as is necessary and feasible to accord plaintiffs their rights."

The court did *not* feel that it had to order *both* houses to be constituted according to population. This question was left open, with an order to reapportion *at least one house*, while noting that it is "not necessary . . . at this time to make a final determination" on what happens to the second house.

The Michigan Case

While the Georgia formula is based on federal analogy (Congress and Electoral College), the state of Michigan decided to improvise an original recipe by mixing four parts of people with one part of land and water to cook up the Senate seats. This formula comes from the need for a balanced political diet in the Michigan GOP.

The Michigan Senate was not a product of whimsy. The districts were apportioned in 1952, on a fixed basis, through a measure submitted to and approved in referendum by the voters of Michigan. Despite this firm legal basis, Gus Scholle, President of the state AFL-CIO, challenged the apportionment in the state Supreme Court, where the case was thrown out because the state judiciary refused to enter the old "political thicket." Scholle took the case to the federal Supreme Court, which remanded the case on April 23 to the state court for action.

Just what action the state Supreme Court is to take, no one quite knows. The Supreme Court "studiously avoided" guide lines for the state, as Justice Harlan pointed out in his lone dissenting vote. The Michigan court, argued Harlan, could do only one of two things: either reaffirm its original decision to do nothing; or invalidate the Senate apportionment which would mean that a state could not constitute a Senate with "numerical voting inequalities, *even though that course reflects the express will of the people.*"

The real effect of the Supreme Court decision was its psychological impact on the Michigan Constitutional Convention then in session. The GOP, out of regard for George Romney, its Presidential hopeful, had to keep face with the urban liberals of the state while keeping peace with the rural conservatives in his party. The convention itself reflected the conservative bent of the malapportioned legislature. The Democratic opposition, heavily unionist, had made reapportionment a major issue over several years. Above all else, the convention realized that it was under the scrutiny of the courts and that any plan it proposed would not be sacrosanct just because it was enacted by a convention. The resultant plan claims that it would represent people and area at the rate of 80 to 20 percent.

In practice, the new Michigan system is not an 80-20 system at all, despite appearances. Keewenau county, with 2,417 people and 27,500 acres of inland water and 348,200 acres of land, would have a representation equivalent to 22,141 people. In other words, as a critic of the plan, James K. Pollack, argues, "Keewenau county's representation is based 89.1 percent on land and water areas and 10.9 percent on its human habitation." The combined areas of national and state forests and inland waterways (not counting people living there) would have a voting worth equal to almost half a million Michiganders.

Whether this system of apportionment will stand up in the Supreme Court is still undetermined. But undoubtedly the Court will view this system as it must evolve through the years when the mounting population of Michigan will steadily enhance the voting power of soil over souls. At present, 19.05 acres equal one human being but 20 years from now 9 or 10 acres of mud may equal one man.

The Michigan case may in itself become a "parent" case, similar to the Tennessee case. The latter applies to states where legislatures *violate* their own constitution; the former applies to states where legislatures, or some other apportioning agency, may be *obeying* their own constitution. In this respect, *Scholle* v *Hare* (the Michigan decision) may be controlling in a present New York suit, brought by Station WMCA.

There are many striking parallels between the Michigan and New York cases – both legally and politically. In New York, as in Michigan, both houses are apportioned according to constitutional formulas. In both states, the legislatures, to use Al Smith's descriptive phrase for New York, are "constitutionally Republican," with Democrats repeatedly winning a majority of the popular vote and the Republicans winning a majority of the seats. In both states, prominent Republican aspirants for the Presidency are on the spot. In both states, the impact on the federal House of Representatives could be monumental, because GOP state legislatures have designed Congressional districts in New York and Michigan to add almost a dozen unwar-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ranted votes to Republican strength "on the Hill." Loss of GOP power in these states would mean loss of seats in Washington.

Governor Rockefeller has refused to call a special session of the state legislature to consider reapportionment on the ground that to do so this year, when Governor and legislature are up for election, would make the issue too "political." As a consequence, his very refusal is becoming a key issue in the state campaign, with the Democrats "for" and the Republicans "against" revision.

"Countyism"

The WMCA case has become a further embarrassment, legally and constitutionally, to New York Republicans. On June 11, the US Supreme Court ordered a three-man federal court to reconsider this case (dismissed in January for the usual reasons) in the light of *Baker* v *Carr*. The same day, Rockefeller released a letter to the Citizens Union in which the Governor leaned on the original finding of the three-man tribunal. The unhappy coincidence of dates caused Mayor Wagner to comment that Rockefeller's comments were both "ill-fated and ill-timed."

Still undeterred, Rockefeller took to the air on June 17 to point up the complexities of reapportionment. "I have not seen anybody," he said, "a lot of criticism – but nobody has come forward with a formula." In reply, Station WMCA, through its president, R. Peter Strauss, has been circulating the summary of a report prepared by Dr. Ruth Silva of Pennsylvania State in her role as consultant to the Peck Commission on constitutional revision, in which are spelled out five possible formulas for reapportioning the Senate and four more for the Assembly. WMCA also charges that this report was "lost" precisely because it was so clear in its attack on the present system and in its proposals for a future plan.

Although many of Dr. Silva's recommendations are for New York only, her report contains two recommendations that have general interest and applicability. One is to wipe out county lines in creating districts; the other to "weight" the legislators' vote. Both are an attempt to get "maximum equality of representation."

The present use of counties as the basis for representation is one of the prime obstacles to establishing districts of equal population, because counties vary greatly in population, yet insist on separate county representation. In political folklore, counties are compared with states. Just as the federal government has two houses, one based on population and the other on political unit, so too it is argued should states have two chambers, one based on people, the other on counties.

This philosophy was given recent expression by Anne Arundel Circuit Court Judge O. Bowie Duckett this May 24 when he ordered reapportionment of one Maryland house on population. "I feel," he said, "that one of the houses can be Constitutionally based upon area and geographical location regardless of population or eligible voters. Such an arrangement protects the minorities. It prevents hasty, although popular, legislation at the time. It is based upon history and reason and helps to protect the republican form of government guaranteed to the states by Article 4 of Section 4 of the United States Constitution. It preserves the checks and balances in the state government, which has worked so well under the federal. Moreover, there would be little advantage in a bicameral legislature if the composition and qualifications of the members were similar."

Opponents of this "federal plan" are generally agreed that to identify counties with states is to confuse the creator with its creation, and historic necessity with democratic principle. The 13 original states *created* the United States; the counties *were created by* the states. The states preceded the federal government; the counties were sub-divisions of the states. The federal government can not whimsically abolish, divide, merge the separate states; but the states have done and can do all these things to counties. A group in control of the US Senate could not eternally perpetuate its control by wiping out or merging a few states; but a state could do this with its counties. "The United States Senate is both irrelevant and improper as a model for representation within a state," concludes Professor Paul T. David, University of Virginia, because "a state is not a federal union of sovereign counties."

The federal model was in its origin part of a great compromise, a necessary evil, made historically imperative as part of the price of union. To elevate this one-time necessity into a current principle is to substitute analogy for argument, "with quite deliberate intent," argues Professor David, "as a facile means of practicing an invidious discrimination against city people."

The strongest argument against basing one house on space rather than people, however, flows from the practical consequences of such a system. "Countyism" allows a minority, normally a rural-based and conservative minority, to control at least one house. This gives this minority a veto power in state government, a veto exercised normally on behalf of static, passive government against creative, active government. In order for "metropolitan 20th Century America" to enact legislation responsive to its needs, the 69 percent of our population living in urban areas requires a potential majority in both houses. But to block any such action, a small-town 19th-Century-minded minority need control only one house. Since the distinguishing political feature of our state legislatures is their inclination toward reaction by inaction the control of one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

house is almost as bad as the control of both houses by conservative minorities.

All this does not mean that there is not good reason for establishing districts that give voice to sections of the citizenry with distinct geography-based interests, attitudes, traditions and forms. Indeed, existing county lines may be the most convenient and appropriate units. To recognize meaningful regionalism and grant it representation, however, does not require an inflation of power for these districts that would convert somewhat artificial, often archaic, administrative county units into the dominant source of political influence. Let the counties have their voice; but let each voice be no louder than the number of people for whom it speaks!

Bicameral or Bimoral?

Both houses can be based on population without surrendering the positive values of a bicameral system, with its checks and balances. These virtues can be preserved by making one house more numerous and the other less; by electing men to one house from smaller, perhaps more homogeneous districts, while electing men to the other house from larger, more heterogeneous districts; by electing one house for two years and the other for six years, with a full turn-over periodically in one and a partial turn-over in the other. Our legislatures can be bicameral without being bimoral.

Dr. Silva's second proposal suggests that "a fixed number of Assemblymen might be assigned to each county without regard to population, but the Assemblyman's vote in the Assembly might then be weighted according to the population of the district he represents." A similar proposal was made at the Michigan convention to offset the 80-20 area-population plan.

Dr. Robert H. Engle, voicing a mounting opinion among political scientists, describes the plan as follows: "Each representative's vote on legislative decisions of the legislature be the same as (weighted by) the vote he received when he was elected. This would be new in legislatures but it has long been done in business when corporation shareholders vote the number of shares they own or hold proxies for; in labor union federations delegates vote the membership of their constituent union; and in Illinois, by state law, political party committeemen vote the number of party ballots in the preceding primary. Electronic roll-calls, now installed in over half the states with adjustments, can count 100,000 votes almost as quickly as one. This would make every elector in the state equal in representation to every other elector regardless of the size or location of his district or the imperfections of the district apportionment."

The chief virtue of the "weighting" plan for legislative reapportionment is its simplicity:

1. County lines could be used, with each county represented by one or more persons, but with each person casting a vote weighted by the number of people he represents.

2. By basing the "weight" on *votes* cast, rather than population, it is possible to keep an up-to-date apportionment, without waiting for the decennial census.

3. Since the system does not call for drawing any district lines at all (existing counties are used), the entire process could be placed in the hands of a clerk who has mastered fifth grade math, and who could be ordered by a state or federal court to do his work correctly and on time.

There are, of course, many variations on the weighting theme. Two men could be elected from each district – the top candidate and the runner-up – with each of them casting a vote proportionate to the votes cast for the candidates. Another device would base a legislator's weighting on the number of votes cast for him minus the number of votes cast for the runner up. By still another system, the percentage of the total vote cast for the winning candidate could be divided into population to provide a mixed voting-population factor in weighting.

By using fixed county lines, this system would eliminate the bothersome problem of creating districts that are compact and contiguous, since these counties generally are. The state legislatures could, of course, decide to carve up their own sacred cow to create new county boundaries for partisan appetites. But should state legislatures do so, new criteria could be established to clip the claws of the gerrymander. Ernest C. Roeck, Jr., of Rutgers University, has made an initial exploration into standards for measuring "compactness," by the simple expedient of drawing a circle around the outermost points of a district and then measuring the ratio between the area of the district and of the enclosing circle. By fixing a figure on permissible ratio, a state could inhibit the gerrymander.

Actually if one of the "weighting plans" is used – namely, basing the weight on the vote of the winner minus the vote of the loser – a gerrymander would be completely useless. The only drawback on this proposal seems to be the fact that it appears too true to be good.

New formulas will undoubtedly be forthcoming. The National Municipal League is working on its model clause for state constitutions. The Twentieth Century Fund summoned a conference of scholars in New York to prepare a series of research monographs and recommendations. The Advisory Commission on Inter-governmental Relations – an official body composed of spokesmen from all the major levels and branches of government – instructed its staff this spring to prepare a report and proposals.

There will be many answers on what to do. The next

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

question will be how to do it.

The state legislatures are not objective instruments for this mission. They have proved it for decades and are continuing to do so. In Georgia, following *Baker* v *Carr*, the legislature under gubernatorial lash, rushed to reapportionment to head off federal court intervention. The result was unsatisfactory and upset by the court that set down its own standards. In Tennessee, following court order, the legislature reapportioned unsatisfactorily and was given a reprieve until next year. In Wisconsin, the order of the court allowed the legislature until 5 p.m. on Monday of the following week to reapportion; the bill became a political football passed by a Republican legislature and vetoed by a Democratic Governor. On July 3 the federal court appointed a special master to draft a reapportionment plan. John A. Hannah, chairman of the Michigan Convention and head of the state university, noted that to allow legislatures to apportion themselves is like allowing students to grade their own papers.

State conventions are not much better at doing this job than are the legislatures. In many states, it is the legislature that must call the convention. In most states, the convention, in its apportionment, mimics the legislature. In a state like New York, the voters are allowed once every 20 years to summon a convention by referendum. And if the voters are asleep that year, as they were in the Empire State in 1957, then prevailing injustice must continue for another two decades.

To Hasten Reform

Initiative and referendum offer channels for reform in the 20 states where these procedures are available. The Supreme Court made special note of the fact that it felt required to act in the Tennessee case because that state did not have initiative and referendum. Some informed opinion even believed that the Supreme Court would not act in a state where there was a viable system of popular action.

But even this path is thorny. In 1926 Massachusetts courts found that the initiative was not applicable to reapportionment. Before that a similar course was followed by the Missouri Supreme Court. In 1956, an initiative statute on reapportionment was passed in Washington, but in 1957 the state legislature undid the deed and was upheld by a five to four decision in the state Supreme Court.

One of the by-products of *Baker* v *Carr* may be its clearing the path of initiative should it be used in the future to reapportion. A legislature or court that overruled such an initiative might well be inviting the Supreme Court to intervene.

For the 50 states as a whole, the most available and the most vigorous instrument to hasten or compel reform is the court. (The Supreme Court in *Baker* felt it was the *only* instrument.) The lower courts, in particular, have displayed an imaginative truculence in devising sanctions to speed action. In Vermont, the court acted directly: redistricted two seats by switching counties around. To make this stick, the judge barred county clerks from printing ballots until the reapportionment was carried out as he recommended. This action was in line with the opinion of Supreme Court Justice Clark who suggested that it might be wise "to start with existing assembly districts, consolidate some of them, and award the seats thus released to those counties suffering the most egregious discrimination." In Alabama, a three-judge federal court ordered reapportionment with the caveat that if the legislature failed to do so, the court would itself carry through a provisional districting along lines of Clark's plan. In Mississippi, State Chancellor W. T. Horton ordered the state legislature to reapportion, adding that "should our legislative bodies not act timely, this court will reapportion them, and enter a decree enjoining the state and county election commissions and commissioners from holding elections or electing any Senator or Representative . . ." In Wisconsin, a three-judge federal court on June 27 ordered the legislature to a complete reapportionment by 5 p.m. July 2 – or the court would appoint a master to do the job. The Colorado Supreme Court unveiled a battery of missiles on June 14 in a series of show cause orders, including a call on the Secretary of State, George Baker, to show cause within seven days why he should not be restrained from holding the election and a call on the State Treasurer, Tim Armstrong, to show cause why he should not be required to cut off the pay of the General Assembly.

Two draconic measures are available to the courts should they prove constitutional. One is to order an election at large in a state. This is less a cure than shock therapy. Should it come in a state where a governing party is also a popular majority, the medicine may be worse than the malady. The other is to order the use of the weighted vote. This is an untried instrument but it enjoys the virtue of serving both as immediate sanction and as a constitutional pattern for the future.

The final problem is to find a formula that will not necessitate repeated court intervention. The first step appears to be a constitutional provision on reapportionment that leaves as little room for discretion as possible. This would specify the formula for both apportionment and districting, use fixed lines for districts wherever possible and a mathematical equation for apportionment of seats to districts. The second step would be to place enforcement in the hands of an apportioning agency, other than the legislature. The third step would allow judicial review in the state and ultimately the federal courts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Faulkner Across the Water

by Hilary Corke

What's going on down there in Yoknapatawpha has something of the air of a strictly private fiesta to which Englishmen such as myself are not really invited. Or to put it another way, I presume that Americans have to make up their minds about Faulkner, have to come to terms. He is either sacred cow or sacred anathema. The English don't. He represents something

The Reivers
by William Faulkner
(Random House; $4.95)

that has stemmed away from our own culture and traditions and does not relate to our past and he is not going to be part of our future. For us, a track to somewhere where we are not going. That is why I can cheerfully confess to not having read more than four or five of the novels, without expecting to be consequently bitten to death by mad critics. I can attempt to place *The Reivers* "as a book" whereas an American would have to try to place it "as a Faulkner." (As what I have to say here was written before Mr. Faulkner's death, I shall continue to speak of him in the present tense.)

The Reivers starts with the two words "Grandfather said," and what he says is the whole volume that follows. In 1905, when "grandfather," Lucius Priest, was eleven, his own grandfather went off for four days to attend a distant funeral; and he left behind him his automobile, which was just about the first and only automobile ever seen in those parts. The temptation was too much for Boon Hogganbeck, his part-Indian chauffeur, a mad, huge, ugly, childish man; and he and Lucius tacitly agreed to take it off on a clandestine trip. Unluckily they found themselves saddled with Ned, a Negro who shared a white forebear with Lucius. Ned was an all-time gambler, and it wasn't long before he had traded the automobile for a highly dubious race-horse. . . . And so it goes until old grandfather turns up from the funeral and the truancy is over.

At this level, of course, we are in *The Boy's Own Paper* world – adventures, yarns, excitements, in which a child, and a couple of adults behaving like children, enter a paradisal enclave of irresponsibility and stay there until the fragile thing is broken by the irruption of the remorseless sobersides grown-ups. But Faulkner is self-evidently himself too adult a writer to be content in this elementary dimension. Lucius, at eleven, stands poised between the irresponsible and the responsible worlds, and, hanging behind the gaiety and color and motion of the foreground, now almost obscured by it, now gleaming starkly, is a great black curtain of guilt. Nemesis is the fourth passenger upon that supposedly carefree ride.

It is a complex guilt, because Faulkner is a complex writer: but uppermost is Lucius' sense that he is letting his grandfather and father down. In a few years he will be like them, a white man running a big business, issuing orders, making decisions, necessarily reliable, necessarily self-controlled. If a white skin stands for sense and order and ethics and punctuality, it also stands for anxiety, as Faulkner makes quite clear in a memorable exchange:

> "With my people," [said Ned] "Saturday night runs over into Sunday."
>
> "And into Monday morning too," Colonel Lipscomb said. "You wake up Monday morning, sick, with a hangover, filthy in a filthy jail, and lie there until some white man comes and pays your fine and takes you straight back to the cotton field or whatever it is and puts you back to work without even giving you time to eat breakfast. And you sweat it out there, and maybe by sundown you feel you are not really going to die; and the next day, and the day after that, and after that, until it's Saturday again and you can put down the plow or the hoe and go back as fast as you can to that stinking jail cell on Monday morning. Why do you do it? I don't know."
>
> "You can't know," Ned said. "You're the wrong color. If you could just be a nigger one Saturday night, you wouldn't never want to be a white man again as long as you live."

It is a measure of Faulkner's strength that this is not an angry exchange, but conducted with mutual respect and dignity on either side.

More than would be the case with most novels this brief resumé of the plot tells us where we are. We are in that department of the American novel that we could glibly call the *Huckleberry Finn-Catcher in the Rye* complex. It is a department that does not really exist in the British novel at more than a rudimentary level, because in the British novel women tend to get in, and they are a fatal interruption. The world of *The Reivers* is essentially the world of men amongst men. Of course that world contains mothers and wives – yes, and indeed a notable brothel – but nevertheless the women remain purely objects, objects that one raises one's hat to, and protects if necessary, and does not strike, and satisfies one's instincts with, or undertakes a life-partnership with, but that remains other, landscape, furniture, things. If I could make absolutely certain of not being misunderstood, and clearing the word temporarily of all its physical connotations, I should like to say that *The Reivers* is a homosexual novel with not a drop of sexuality in it. It, and *Huckleberry*, and *The Catcher* are all Socrates-novels about Alcibiades. And just as in homosexual love one loves what one is, or more particularly what

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one has been or wishes one had been (whereas heterosexually we love what we are not, and never can be), so *The Reivers* is in a sense, necessarily, masked wishful autobiography. Socrates' novel about Alcibiades can never escape being a novel about young Socrates too.

Equally, a world of men constitutes itself, men being what they are, a club. And a club has not an ethic but a code, not morals but conventions, things one does or doesn't do. A code is based on an ethic, of course, but at a remove, and the remove may well be in the nature of a sidestep, as the codes of hidalgo or samurai or medieval knight may suggest. So *The Reivers* is much concerned with learning the rules that make one into a "gentleman" – a gentleman being a very good sort of partial man, but not a whole man probably. Another way of expressing Lucius' guilt is to consider that no gentleman would be a party to stealing his grandfather's automobile – certainly that rather than any plain suggestion that "thieving is wrong." Faulkner is specific about this in the key scene at the end of the book, when Lucius finally confronts his grandfather and gets, not the classic whipping he has been expecting, but a talk:

> "I lied," I said.
> "Come here," he said.
> "I can't," I said. "I lied, I tell you."
> "I know it," he said.
> "Then do something about it. Do anything, just so it's something."
> "I can't," he said.
> "There ain't anything to do? Not anything?"
> "I didn't say that," Grandfather said. "I said I couldn't. You can."
> "What?" I said. "How can I forget it? Tell me how to?"
> "You can't," he said. "Nothing is ever forgotten. Nothing is ever lost. It's too valuable."
> "Then what can I do?"
> "Live with it," Grandfather said.
> "Live with it? You mean, forever? For the rest of my life? Not even to get rid of it? Never? I can't. Don't you see I can't?"
> "Yes you can," he said. "You will. A gentleman always does. A gentleman can live through anything. He faces anything. A gentleman accepts the responsibility of his actions and bears the burden of their consequences, even when he did not himself instigate them but only acquiesced to them, didn't say No though he knew he should."

A very very far cry from the world of the beats in one direction, and from that of industrial morality in the other.

The last novel of Faulkner's I attempted was *A Fable*, and I didn't finish it, for I was defeated by the style – a sort of Gothick cancer of style that seems to eat up old prose-writers (Moore, Meredith, James) who came to feel that prose isn't enough; and that poetry is of course too much (that being, perhaps, the point of poetry). I thought I should suffer the same defeat here when upon the first page I found:

> "... and we would go home and eat dinner and I would be free at last to overtake (it was May) the baseball game which had been running since breakfast without me: the idea (not mine: your great-grandfather's) being that even at eleven a man should already have behind him one year of paying for, assuming responsibility for, the space he occupied,

Poem

Remember midsummer: the fragrance of box, of white roses
And of phlox. And upon a honeysuckle branch
Three snails hanging with infinite delicacy
– Clinging like tendril, flake and thread, as self-tormented
And self-delighted as any ballerina,
just as in the orchard,
Near the apple trees, in the over-grown grasses
Drunken wasps clung to over-ripe pears
Which had fallen: swollen and disfigured.
For now it is wholly autumn: in the late
Afternoon as I walked toward the ridge where the hills begin,
There is a whir, a thrashing in the bush, and a startled pheasant, flying out and up,
Suddenly astonished me, breaking the waking dream.

Last night
Snatches of sleep, streaked by dreams and half dreams
– So that, aloft in the dim sky, for almost an hour,
A sausage balloon – chalk-white and lifeless looking – floated motionless
Until, at midnight, I went to New Bedlam and saw what I feared
the most – I heard nothing, but it
had all happened several times elsewhere.

Now, in the cold glittering morning, shining at the window,
The pears hang, yellowed and over-ripe, sodden brown in
erratic places, all bunched and dangling,
Like a small choir of bagpipes, silent and waiting. And I rise now,
Go to the window and gaze at the fallen or falling country
– And see! – the fields are pencilled light brown
or are the dark brownness of the last autumn
– So much has shrunken to straight brown lines, thin as the
bare thin trees,
Save where the cornstalks, white bones of the lost forever dead,
Shrivelled and fallen, but shrill-voiced when the wind whistles
Are scattered like the long abandoned hopes and ambitions
Of an adolescence which, for a very long time, has been merely
A recurrent target and taunt of the inescapable mockery of memory.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the room he took up, in the world's (Jefferson, Mississippi's, anyway) economy."

And, a few lines later, this:

"Father's logic or premise: that since any adult man worth his salt could balance or stand off four children in economic occupancy, any one of the children, the largest, certainly, would suffice to carry the burden of the requisite economic motions."

I confess I still have only the haziest notion of what the second extract might mean: but I could see what Faulkner was getting up to. The parentheses, the parallels, the periphrases, are a convention – but *a highly artificial* convention – for representing direct spoken narrative with all its hesitations, and with all its virtues: for its virtues are inextricable from its hesitations, its merit being a kind of visible searching-out of meaning, a Gothic (not Gothick) concept of growing form as opposed to the still revelations of classic marble. All the same, this left me unhappy. "A comic classic," said the rather breathless blurb, "that will be universally read and re-read, not only today, but as far into the future as any fiction of our time can continue." Well no, *not* universally. Not more than one percent of any population of any period, are going to be able to take this prose. No re-read without rewrite. But these over-selfconscious contortions, once the narrative is well set going, soon fall away. By page 46, Faulkner is writing like this:

"When grown people speak of the innocence of children, they don't really know what they mean. Pressed, they will go a step farther and say, Well, ignorance then. The child is neither. There is no crime which a boy of eleven had not envisaged long ago. His only innocence is, that he may not yet be old enough to desire the fruits of it, which is not innocence but appetite; his ignorance is, he does not know how to commit it, which is not ignorance but size."

That is brilliantly remembered, and memorably expressed. As a literary convention for grandfather's speech it is perhaps even more outrageously artificial than what it replaces: the difference is, that it is triumphant.

On Winning the Modern Age

by Charles Burton Marshall

"Who won the modern age?" Walter Lippmann asked the question and answered it in a recent TV interview. "It's gone on for five hundred years, changing. One power was up. Another was down. You don't win ages. I mean, you can win a battle on the ground, but it's foolish to talk about victory in a thing as large as the process of history on a global scale."

Cold War and Common Sense
by Thomas W. Wilson, Jr.
(New York Graphic Society; $4.95)

A colleague of mine recently put the 16th Century into like perspective. Looked back upon from four centuries, its issues seemed arid and illusory. According to his prediction, so would the differences of our own time in the 24th Century, when men would wonder over the zeal given them. He drew a moral in favor of taking long views, letting courses work themselves out and deferring showdowns.

Detachment, however interesting in philosophers, is questionable in application to policy. It is a vanity of the bookish to identify comprehension with long perspective. Abstracting a problem and viewing it from afar do not necessarily give more insight than experiencing it. Government is constrained not merely to observe history, to explain it, or to await speculatively its verdict but also to affect it. Government has interests to advocate and responsibilities to meet, short-term as well as long. Its tasks are like those of a physician charged to preserve life while aware of its contingency or a mason obliged to build as soundly as he can though knowing the walls are fated to crumble.

One power may be up, and another down – and which is the case bears heavily on their domestic order and involves a far more than theoretic difference to those in charge for the time being. Measuring effectiveness against adverse forces and purposes is inherent to conduct of policy. The verb *win* may be inadequate to convey the subtleties of headway and success in world affairs, but it is brief, and men cannot always afford time for elaboration and nuances. The fact that winning is not something you can do with an age does not mean that there is no such thing as prevailing or losing out.

A real difficulty lies in keeping score. Reading recently into pronouncements of publicists and statesmen on situations and prospects in Europe five and six decades ago reminded me of it. Conclusions then being drawn from the same evidence by informed men were discrepant to a point of being completely opposed. Matters have changed little since. "In the end . . . political judgment is subjective; it is personal optimism or personal pessimism which tips the scale between faith and frustration." So Thomas Wilson, Jr., observes in his new book.

Wilson is an articulate optimist. His prose is fluent and staccato and sometimes gets out of hand: for example, ". . . when time draws the fever of domestic politics from the history of the Korean War, the skeletal facts will remain. . . ." The scope includes about everything in world affairs over sixteen years. The gist is that our side, while perhaps missing a few marginal tricks, has mainly held good hands and played them astonishingly well.

At the moment the public mood on world affairs is euphoria mitigated by apathy. A while back there was gloom. Soon it may return. Wilson's effective book fits and enhances the present cheerfulness. I should criticize it not on this ground but for oversimplifying – a consequence perhaps of trying to cover so much in a small book.

One wishes to know more about the Alliance for Progress than its obviously affirmative intentions – for example, the calculations which went into emphasizing progressive income taxation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for societies in drastic need of capital formation. The United States' latest disarmament proposal needs elucidation beyond an assertion that it is a "credible program." Would the third stage of that program, if ever reached, invite the waging of internal aggression far and wide? The question has a bearing on credibility. One wishes it were examined analytically. The preemptive adjective "credible" is not enough. Wilson's Jeffersonian interpretation of political forces in the emerging states also may strike the reader as too good to be true. It probably involves the sort of self-projection warned against in Louis Hartz's work of a few seasons ago, *The Liberal Tradition in America.*

Withal, this is a spirited book of considerable scope affirming a foreign policy which, in the author's phrase, consists of "an attractive design for pluralistic communities of freedom held together by consent." That is a big order of harmony. Wilson makes it sound good. Consent means, of course, concurrence based on recognized mutuality of purpose. Reduced to utmost simplicity Wilson's phrase affirms that our purpose *is* mutuality of purpose. Perhaps it is being old-fashioned to ask, as Hans Morgenthau does in the current number of *Commentary,* whether a foreign policy so conceived does not carry pragmatism to a dogmatic extreme.

Mlle. Intellectuelle of 1935

by Lillian de la Torre

Here is the self-revelation of an extraordinary women. This second instalment of the autobiography of Simone de Beauvoir covers the fulness of her years, from 1929 to 1944. It opens as her freedom begins, that emancipation from family and tradition which she had just achieved at the end of the first volume, *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter.* It closes on a high note of joy at the Liberation of France from the Nazis.

The Prime of Life
by Simone de Beauvoir
Translated by Peter Green
(World; $6.95)

Over half the book is given to detailed recollections of the *vie de Bohème* lived by young French intellectuals in the '30s. There they are, strolling the Boulevards, scribbling at the Dôme, entertaining at parties with such strange specialty numbers as striking matches with the feet or fighting mock duels with empty bottles; and always talking, talking. They are all intensely aware of their own significance. Young Simone, especially, is calmly certain that she knows the answers; she thinks that she confers importance on every book she reads, every friend she analyzes, every dish she eats; she is positive that in Jean-Paul Sartre she possesses the most remarkable man in France; in sum, she seems to look upon herself as Mlle. Intellectuelle of 1935.

"Let me at her!" cries the irritated critic, in haste to knock down these pretensions.

But prejudice aside, are they pretensions? Is it so certain that, had such an honor existed, she would *not* have been elected Miss Intellectual of 1935?

This detailed record of one woman's meals, reading, and friendships, prolix though it may be, *is* important, in two ways. If any individual reveals himself honestly – as she herself says – "it is impossible for him to shed light on his own life without at some point illuminating the lives of others." Furthermore, Mlle. de Beauvoir is today a prize-winning novelist, and in the course of the present book she takes occasion to explain in detail the processes by which she has transmuted her personal experiences from life into literature. These passages by themselves lend the book great interest, especially for other writers.

As to Jean-Paul Sartre, it is no pretension that he is a remarkable man. With him, as the book and the pre-war decade start, she has just formed an enduring alliance "of the mind, the imagination, and the senses." The two are alike in their philosophical bent, their drive to write, their love for the open road, their intellectual liberalism, and the fanatical passion for freedom that keeps them politically unaligned – and matrimonially unconnected. The pair soon agree to eschew wedlock and live for their writing. "One single urge fired us," says the author, "the urge to embrace all experience and to bear witness concerning it." The writer does not intend, she says in her foreword, to write the life of Sartre; he will, one day, write it himself. But insofar as Sartre is *her* life, we behold him clearly here as Mlle. de Beauvoir holds up the mirror. We see him "throwing himself whole-heartedly into the business of being young" – doing imitations of Donald Duck, playing Greek music on the recorder, practicing the yoyo with "somber perserverance," experimenting with mescaline and carrying away recurring delusions of lobsters following him; and, every vacation, rambling Europe with her, from Spain to the islands of the Aegean.

We never see Sartre as a lover. Mlle. de Beauvoir writes as if she were entirely unaware of the physical man. Here is clearly the true "Platonic love" in which the life of the mind is all-important.

In fact, the whole tone of the book is crisp and cool. Whether or not her loves and friendships were in fact coldly analytical, they are so treated here. Of her pleasures, the greatest seems to be found in striking off alone, rucksack on back, into the high mountains. Even in the face of death, as her footing fails, she maintains her *sang-froid.*

And all the time, as Beauvoir is eagerly living up her own life and thinking her own thoughts, there is thunder in the air, coming closer – the rise of Hitler, the Spanish Civil War, the Austrian and Sudeten take-over, and finally the Russo-German non-aggression pact. By the time the German armies move, Sartre and Simone have abandoned their political detachment and stand committed to their country's cause.

The war as she saw it is a strange phantasmagoria. Her coolness stays with her. She can almost admire the good looks and correctness of the invaders, until the persecution of the French Jews rouses her ire. Her anxiety for Sartre, first as a soldier, then a prisoner, is allayed when he is repatriated and they settle down to live out the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Occupation as best they may.

They have plenty of courage. Sartre plots with the underground. He and Simone even risk slipping across the border into Unoccupied France for vacation walking tours, and then slip unconcernedly back again. Ignoring the men in field-gray, they write and talk in Paris cafes over their cups of bitter ersatz coffee. They dine uncomplainingly on turnip sauerkraut or potato croquettes. They find release in hilarious parties, like the all-night affair when a picked group gathered to read a "somewhat outdated" avant-garde play by Picasso, entitled "Desire Caught by the Tail."

When Liberation comes close, they go quietly about their business in contempt of bullets flying. Bullets are still flying as with full hearts they cheer the entry of the Liberation forces.

Here the present volume stops. If for this slice of history alone, it is an important one; too bad that lack of an index mars its usefulness to historians. For the post-war sequel, distilled from fact into fiction, the reader must turn to Mlle. de Beauvoir's Prix Goncourt novel, *The Mandarins*. It is to be hoped that she will soon give us the fact, too, in a third volume of her memoirs.

The writer of these memoirs was influenced, she tells us, by Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, William Faulkner, and above all by Ernest Hemingway. She has caught Hemingway's flair for the evocation of sharp physical detail, sometimes with especial felicity, as when she writes of sliding through life like a fish in the water, or says of an insincere person that "everything she touched turned to cardboard." "Night was falling over the earth, and entering our very bones," she says poignantly of the onset of war.

One is therefore astonished to encounter, here and there, tasteless phrases like "slap-happy," "till the cows come home," or "settle society's hash"; but these turn out to be the ill-judged attempt of the translator to snap things up now and then, in line with his general tendency to elaborate upon the more direct style of the original. Such are the perils of being translated.

Assignment in Moscow

by Henry Shapiro

This book is essentially the story of two personal romances: one with Russia and its people and the other a young American's love affair with a Russian girl who was held in virtual captivity in the Stalin era.

Mr. Whitney spent nine exciting years in the Soviet Union as attaché of the American Embassy and later as correspondent for the Associated Press. Unlike many professional diplomats and newspapermen who go to Moscow inadequately prepared, he began his assignment with an impressive background of academic studies in Soviet affairs and service in the Russian section of the Office of Strategic Services. His knowledge of the Russian language provided additional equipment for observing and reporting with some depth one of the most significant periods of contemporary history. His book is therefore a faithful and sensitive personalized chronicle of events covering the break up of the wartime American-Soviet alliance, the evolution of the cold war and the beginnings of Russia's transformation under Khrushchev.

Russia in My Life
by Thomas P. Whitney
(Reynal; $6)

The author does not purport to describe definitively the political developments of the period or to counsel the State Department on the conduct of American-Soviet relations. But he vividly portrays the ghetto life of the Western colony, the heart-breaking frustrations of American correspondents, and the Kremlin's efforts at post-war reconstruction. Living and working in the melancholy atmosphere of official hostility relieved only by the warmth and friendliness of the limited number of Russian people he met, Whitney was able to amass a wealth of impressions and facts.

The account is colored by the author's one-time dangerous devotion to a Russian girl whom he courted and married under the frowning eyes of Soviet officialdom. Only the tyrant's sudden death in 1953 brought liberation to the Whitneys and the families of five other American correspondents and embassy employees. Through his wife, Yulya, and her native contacts, Whitney was able to gain valuable insights into the lives of Muscovites – usually a closed book to most foreign residents.

Although Yulya's once seemingly-hopeless situation and other Russian personal tragedies dominate the book, Whitney writes with considerable detachment and reports his experience with a fair degree of objectivity.

He first became enamored of traditional Russia when pursuing graduate studies in Russian history at Columbia University. He then came under the influence of the works of the great Russian historian, Kliuchevsky, to whom he ascribes the characterization of the country's history as "a never ending struggle." Almost a decade after his trying years in Moscow, Whitney suggests that "if gold medals are to be passed out to nations for the suffering they have borne to preserve their independence and carve out of the wilderness a fertile land, the Russian people are entitled to one. Russia's never ending struggle has had its fruits in some of the qualities of the Russian people – patience, fortitude, willingness to accept sacrifice, great energy."

Had he not begun his journalistic career conversant with Russian history and economics he might easily have fallen prey to the not uncommon practice of assessing the complexities of Russia in terms of its primitive "toilet culture," or the monumental abuses of its rulers. While venturing some judgment on the meaning of it all he is primarily concerned with the pathos of the Russian people.

Upon repatriation to censorless America Whitney did not rush into print with a quickie of the "now it can be told" type. Russia continued to loom large in his life and work. Reflecting on his experience nine years later Whitney writes: "The rule of terror was being discredited. . . . This would be a new stage of development and growth for Russia . . . a release of those enormous creative forces, those unbeliev-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A rare opportunity for readers of The New Republic—an autographed, first edition copy of one of the year's most important political books at $1.00 off the regular price

YEAR OF TRIAL: KENNEDY'S CRUCIAL DECISIONS

by Helen Fuller

Contributing Editor, The New Republic

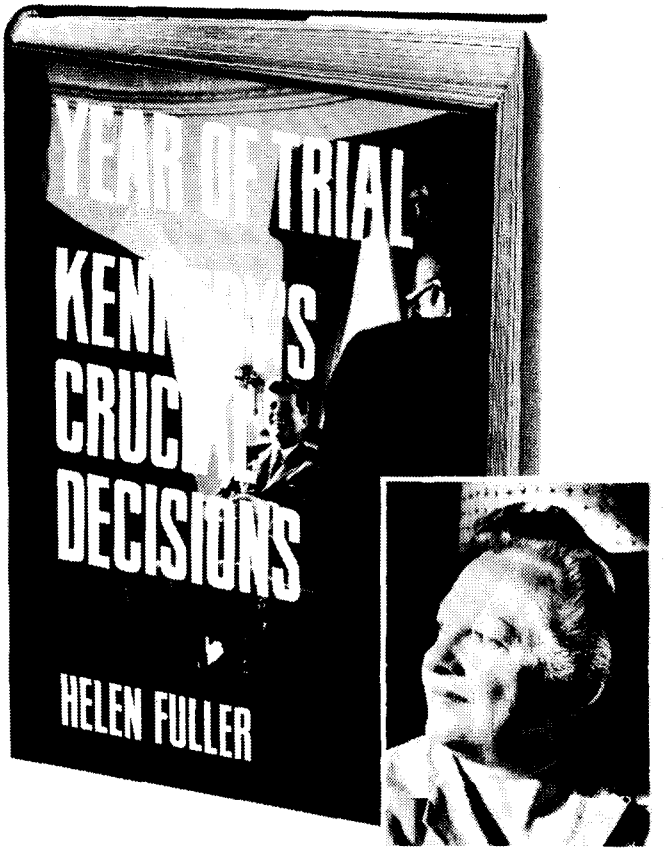
One of Washington's most knowledgeable reporters presents a lively and objective analysis of the President's first year in office, his major decisions and his methods of implementing them. From this penetrating appraisal, the future pattern of the New Frontier is clearly indicated.

"A crackerjack reporting job which takes up where 'The Making of the President' left off. Must reading for anybody who wants to understand how Washington works—or fails to work."
—EDWARD P. MORGAN,
American Broadcasting Company

"A brilliant interpretation of the first Kennedy year. It is this kind of reporting that we need to understand the Kennedy phenomenon." —MARQUIS CHILDS

"It reads like a detective story and the characters in it will be with us for a very long time. Anyone interested in his own, and the nation's future, and aren't we all, must read this." —DORIS FLEESON,
United Feature Syndicate

"A readable and informative book of great timeliness. She has had access to information heretofore unrevealed." —RALPH McGILL,



Use coupon to order your copy at only $4.75. Regular price, $5.75

Book Department
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Please send me.....copies of YEAR OF TRIAL at $4.75 each, postpaid. I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order in the amount of $.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE....STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able talents of the Russian peoples and of the Soviet Union which had been, in so many important aspects, suppressed and stifled under Stalin."

Communism and Soviet policy remain abhorrent to Whitney but his book illustrates the fascination that Russia and the Russians, politics notwithstanding, can hold for a cultivated American: "Some of the passion, some of the suffering and some of the sweeping scope of that broad country and that generous people, even some of its vitality and creativity, had gotten into me and become part of me. Russia was in my life and I would not, of course, be the same again. Nor did I want to be."

The Non-Violent Ideology

by David J. Eisen

James Peck and his fellow Freedom Riders and sit-inners would doubtless be a bit startled to be told they were recreating a tradition forged half a century ago by the IWW. Peck, as his Greyhound odyssey clearly sets forth, is a pacifist. He and other leaders of CORE are disciples of Gandhi and non-violent resistance. The Wobblies were welded to violence as a necessary weapon in a war whose brutality was not of their making. The Freedom Riders, for the most part, are middle-class intellectuals and students. The Wobblies were men without a birthright, who really felt they had nothing to lose but their chains. The difference in philosophical outlook and background is mirrored in their personalities: The Freedom Rider, mild-mannered, personally unaggressive, most often with a strong religious tinge; the Wobbly, rough-hewn, belligerent, and militantly atheist.

Freedom Ride
by James Peck
(Simon & Schuster; $3.50)

But stronger ties unite than divide the spirit of those who ride buses today into the strongholds of white supremacy and those who rode the rails into unorganized mining and logging camps 50 years ago: a desire to right injustice, a willingness to endure suffering. Not only the Wobblies' passion but some of their tactics have been revived by these unlikeliest of heirs.

As the "I-Won't-Works" scorned political action for the direct action of strike and demonstration, the Freedom Riders and sit-inners are bypassing court action for the direct action of sit-down and picket line. Like the IWW, the Freedom Riders' strategy is to send increasing numbers against the most stubborn citadels of resistance, to fill the jails to over-flowing.

Readers of Peck's narrative will be aware that the analogy has its limits. The passive resistance of a Wobbly shackled to a lamppost could quickly be transformed into explosive violence; the Freedom Riders are committed to non-violence not just as a tactic but as an ideology. Yet each mode of struggle is appropriate to its setting and to its end. The pages of *Freedom Ride*, with its matter-of-fact accounts of teen-agers being smashed off soda fountain stools and of Freedom Riders being punched to the rear of buses vividly convey what passive resistance means in a hostile environment. Violence, aside from inviting disaster, is as inappropriate to the aim of integration as are sit-ins to the Black Muslims' goal of Negro supremacy and separatism.

Under these circumstances, heroism lies in unflinching passivity. Witness this account of a lunch-counter sit-in by a Fisk University student.

> "Curiously, no police were inside the store when white teen-agers and others stood in the aisles insulting us, blowing smoke in our faces, grinding out cigarette butts on our backs and, finally, pulling us off our stools and beating us. Those of us pulled off our seats attempted to fight back in any way."

The occasional lapse into violence, on the other hand, evokes in the Freedom Rider a feeling of shame akin to that elicited by cowardice.

Peck's story, which starts with the first, almost forgotten 1947 Freedom Ride to desegregate interstate buses themselves, is filled with the crack of white fist against black jaw. And not only in the South. Northerners prone to self-congratulation would do well to read the chapter on CORE's campaign to integrate the New Jersey Palisades Amusement Park swimming pool in 1947-48. Cliffside Park and Fort Lee police showed there that they had little to learn from Birmingham.

But while Peck's chronicle is one of brutality, it is of brutality in retreat. The barriers fall – in buses, terminals, soda fountains, restaurants, swimming pools. Here are no drawn-out court battles, with token integration at the end of the road. Here is solid ground won, fortified and transformed into a base for the next assault. And the gains Peck records are not being won *for* Negroes: they are being won *by* Negroes. "Our people are no longer afraid," explains a leader of the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott. Which is why the segregationists are.

Unforgettable is the picture of Peck racing alongside former President Truman during one of the latter's perambulating interviews, challenging Truman's characterization of Northern Freedom Riders as "meddlesome intruders" who "should stay at home and attend to their own business." Here is how Peck relates it:

> "As he [Truman] walked toward the door I approached him and introduced myself as 'a Freedom Rider from the North.' Truman interrupted with, 'Better stay up North, then.'
>
> "I went on to express the view that 'ending racial segregation in the United States is the business of *all*

"A COURT in Milwaukee, upholding a union regulation, fined Mary Ellen Benson for refusing to attend union meetings on Sundays, the timing of which conflicted with both her church attendance and her religious beliefs. If Heaven is going to continue, as in the past, to protect the poor working girl, it will evidently have to retain Edward Bennett Williams."

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. R-1 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conscientious citizens, north, south, east and west.' I added – and I felt this with the utmost conviction – that 'racial segregation – more than any other single factor – besmirches the United States in the world's eyes and aids the Communist propaganda machine.'

"Truman then interrupted again with, 'That's just what *you're* doing; helping the Communists!' " I tried to get in the final sentence, but Truman cut me short with, 'I'm not going to say any more.' "

It was probably just as well, in view of the deterioration of the debate on both sides into the well-worn groove in which every issue is argued on the basis of which side is "helping" the Communists. But Peck was not easily discouraged and continued to trot alongside the former President until he could get in another thrust. Peck recounts:

> "I expressed regret that he [Truman] would not discuss the Freedom Rides in a more serious manner in view of the fact that many prominent Americans view them favorably. 'Just troublemaking,' was his final comment on the Freedom Rides."

Yet the troublemakers may inherit the earth.

RECORDS

From the Archives

The ten sides of RCA Victor's album *Ten Great Singers* LM-6705, offer performances by singers who are all great in the sense of famous and popular in their day and even today. But if "great" refers to quality of achievement, then Caruso, McCormack, Ponselle, Rethberg, Flagstad, Pinza and Gigli are great singers literally by virtue of their extraordinary voices and their powers in producing and manipulating those voices; and Caruso operates with a power and magnificence that overwhelm the judgment which should perceive that his shaping of the phrase is not that of a great musician, as it is in the performance of McCormack, Rethberg and Flagstad. Ponselle and Pinza also operate with musical impressiveness; Gigli's musical vulgarity is blatant. As for the others, Pons' manipulation of her crystalline voice is done with verve; but Galli-Curci produces a characterless flow of pretty sounds; and I hear nothing in Tibbett's voice or his use of it to account for his popularity (three great singers would have been Hempel, Schipa and Bjoerling). Most of the performances are made glossy by artificial resonance (luckily McCormack's famous 1916 *"Il mio tesoro"* from *Don Giovanni* is not); Ponselle's voice is altered in a 1923 *"O patria mia"* from *Aida* that is almost a half-tone sharp; and the Flagstad performances, though free of artificial resonance, are sometimes enveloped in buzzes and grit. Instead of texts there are photographs and chit-chat.

The beauty of McCormack's voice and his art in long-breathed phrasing are heard in acoustically recorded 1924 performances of Handel's *Come, my beloved* and *Care selva)*. Mozart's *Redente la calma*, two Donaudy pieces, and two Brahms songs, on Angel COLH-123. Electrically recorded are the 1927 Shubert *Die Leibe hat gelogen* and Strauss *Allerseelen;* the 1932 Wolf *Beherzigung* and *Ganymed;* the 1935 Wolf *Auch kleine Dinge* and *Herr, was traegt der Boden hier;* the 1936 Handel *Where'er you walk* and *Caro amor* and Wolf *Schlafendes Jesukind* – in the last few of which the voice is old but still agreeable, and the art still impressive. But the vocal deterioration revealed in two previously unissued performances of 1940 and 1942 make their inclusion now regrettable. Also regrettable is the addition of artifical resonance. Texts are provided.

The beauty of Gigli's voice is heard in the performances on Angel COLH-118, recorded between 1931 and 1937. Rococo 32 has acoustically recorded performances of Bori, including a *Traviata* duet with McCormack, in which the singing is lovely; but a few suffer from her later excessive archness; and in the two electrically recorded performances the voice is thin and edged. And Rococo 35 shows Scotti to have had an agreeable baritone which he used less impressively in *Don Giovanni* than in operas of Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi.

To its earlier records of English madrigals sung beautifully by the Deller Consort, Vanguard adds BG-624 (mono), with Gibbons' *The silver swan, What is our life?, Ah! dear heart* and a number of other fine pieces by Pilkington, Byrd and Ward.

And Epic LC-3833 and BC-1160 have the infrequently heard Nos. 7, 8 and 9 of Handel's Concerti Grossi Op. 6, which lovers of his music will find characteristic and attractive, and which are played well by the Handel Festival Orchestra of Halle under Horst Tanu Margraf's direction.

Having discovered that Haydn's writing was changed in the printed editions of his symphonies, H. C. Robbins Landon undertook the preparation of an edition of the original texts of these works; and the Library of Recorded Masterpieces, 150 W. 82nd Street, New York, has begun to issue performances of these texts by Max Goberman with a Vienna State Opera orchestra. HS-1 (mono and stereo) offers the Symphony No. 98, one of the superb works of Haydn's maturity, with the early No. 22 – a marvel to Mr. Landon's ear, but an uninteresting work to mine. As for No. 98, in the music itself the Landon text (provided with the record) and the

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Hilary Corke *is a British man of letters best known in the US for his contributions to our literary quarterlies.* Delmore Schwartz's *most recent collection of poems is* Summer Knowledge. Charles Burton Marshall *is the author of* The Limits of Foreign Policy. Lillian de la Torre *is the author of* Elizabeth Is Missing *and other books.* David J. Eisen *is a member of the research department of the American Newspaper Guild.* Henry Shapiro *is Moscow Bureau Chief of the United Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Goberman performance restore the E flat of the first violins in measure 81 of the second movement, which the printed editions changed to F, destroying Haydn's poignant harmony at that point; and they remove the additions and changes in the trumpet and drum parts which didn't alter the harmony but did occasionally alter the rhythm. In addition Landon and Goberman restore the alla breve tempo of the introduction, and eliminate the changes of Haydn's phrasing and dynamics in the printed editions. Landon writes that the hack who made these changes "objected to off-beat (syncopated) accents, which Haydn marked *fz;* he added crescendi and decrescendi when Haydn wanted an even dynamic flow; and he removed such markings when they seemed to him unconventional." But in my Eulenburg score I find no omissions of *fz* accents, crescendi and decrescendi that are in the Landon text, but only the *insertion* of such markings that are *not* in the Landon text. And concerning these insertions Mr. Landon is in error: when Haydn marks a passage with nothing more than a *p*, it doesn't mean that he wants the passage played in an even, uninflected *p*; it means that he leaves it to the conductor to introduce the inflections of the *p* that must be made to enliven the passage. And when Toscanini, in bare 231-2 of the finale, made the crescendo and the sudden drop to *p* that are marked in the Eulenburg score, he imparted to the passage a life that is not imparted to it by Goberman's performance of it literally as it appears – without any inflection – in the Landon text. The inserted markings in the Eulenburg score are, then, someone's markings for a performance – which Toscanini's performance demonstrated were good for their purpose; and while Landon is right in eliminating them from his edition of the original text, and Goberman would be right in introducing accents, crescendi and decrescendi of his own in his performance, he is wrong in introducing none at all and in executing the Haydn markings without the amplifying inflection that Haydn expected them to receive. For the result is a performance which is excessively bland for someone who has heard Haydn performed by Toscanini or by Beecham in his earlier years.

RCA Victor, it is reported, can be persuaded by evidence of sufficient public interest to issue important unreleased Toscanini recordings – not only the complete Berlioz *Romeo and Juliet* broadcast in 1947 but even some of the great performances recorded with the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1941-42. Those interested should write to Alan Kayes at RCA Victor Records, 155 East 24th Street, New York. B. H. HAGGIN

A Significant Book

The Body and Its Mind

An Introduction to Attitude Psychology

by NINA BULL

Former Research Associate in Psychiatry at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and Fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences

"Attitude Psychology is a recent development based on a fairly simple feedback principle of body-mind relationship as manifested in preparatory attitude.

"The concept resembles the James-Lange theory of emotion in some respects, but differs from it in being applicable far beyond the confines of emotion, and in stressing that readiness for action, and not action as such, is responsible for feeling-states.

"This development departure from the James-Lange theory has opened up new areas for research in both psychology and neurophysiology. It is particularly valuable in human problems involving frustrational confusion, whether they be intrapersonal, interpersonal or international in character."—NOLAN D. C. LEWIS, M.D., *Formerly Director of New York State Psychiatric Institute.*

Price $3.50

LAS AMERICAS PUBLISHING COMPANY
152 East 23rd Street, New York 10

MOVIES

Picaresque and Picturesque

Hemingway's Adventures of a Young Man (20th Century-Fox); *Boccaccio '70* (Embassy)

A. E. Hotchner, who became arranger-in-chief to Hemingway during his life, continues in the post. He combined elements in the author's autobiographical early stories and his novels to make a stage play and has now converted the material into a screen play called *Hemingway's Adventures of a Young Man.* The virtue of the film is that it has some of the quality of its title; there is considerable savor in it of the classic form – a youth striking out from home to become a man by seeing the world: what can be called the downy-cheeked picaresque. The form's vulnerability in drama is that it is a succession of separate episodes. Any organic feeling depends on the observable maturing of the hero.

A good deal of Hotchner's script contributes to that maturing. From the time that his doctor-father asks him to help at an emergency Caesarian operation right on to his wound and wounded love in war-time Italy, Nick Adams sees life writ large. But sometimes it is printed laboriously in capitals. A few of the episodes run long (the prize-fighter, the drunken burlesque man), a few have husk without kernel (the night-time conversation with the corporal), there are some movie-script clichés (the pat death of the nurse, the returning hero fleeing the crowd). And Nick is wonderfully lucky. Except for one brute brakeman, he meets nothing but nature's and society's noblemen. Still, to a considerable extent, the film achieves the sense of Nick's becoming "a part of all that I have met."

Much of this quality is due to the dia-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logue which is either Hemingway or a very reasonable facsimile. At least equally it is due to the acting. Arthur Kennedy, the father; Jessica Tandy, the ambitious mother (the film is strongly "anti-mom," by the way, and does something to explain Hemingway's conscious masculinity); Dan Dailey, the theatrical souse; Philip Bourneuf, the newspaper editor (a scene that is a model of conciseness and credibility); Ricardo Montalban and Eli Wallach, as Italian officer and corporal – all are entirely admirable. The scarred and punch-drunk boxer that Paul Newman plays is, as any actor will see, a "show" part; grotesques are always easier than subtly distinguished characters. What actors will also see is that Newman does much more than merely have a holiday in it with gargoyle make-up and hoarse voice. He has begun at the roots and worked up, with artistic intelligence and responsive talent. A painful implication of the picture is that we have in this country a substantial treasury of actors, at least in the realistic vein, who only rarely get the opportunities in motion pictures that this one gives.

Richard Beymer (Nick) cannot be counted among the talented. His young Ulysses has a soft and torpid center. But it is no easy job to find a competent actor who can look 19 years old and can then move convincingly into manhood. Beymer does not succeed; however, under Martin Ritt's guidance, he is better than he has ever been before. His efforts are at least well-considered and in the right direction.

The one unredeemed blight is Susan Strasberg, the Italian nurse. She is the quintessence of self-enamored attitudinizing, without even the compensation of physical attractiveness.

Boccaccio '70, from Italy, is made up of three stories that, presumably, Boccaccio would have wanted to tell if he had been writing for a 1970 audience. Perhaps; but he would have told two of them better. The first, *The Temptation of Dr. Antonio*, is the familiar tale of the prude pried loose (last seen in Renoir's *Picnic on the Grass*) through the ministrations of Cupid (last seen in Bergman's *A Lesson in Love*). A 50-foot horizontal figure of Anita Ekberg is billboarded outside the Roman home of the prude, as a promotion piece for sales of milk. The prude objects, and the giantess steps off the sign and into his fantasy to bring him abreast of the facts of life. The story is more naught than naughty, but Federico Fellini's direction is dazzling: a *tour de force* that makes up in baroque casting and swift, satirical editing for what the script lacks in freshness. The virtuosity of the direction in *La Dolce Vita*, which did not plumb the alleged depth of the subject matter, is intensified here, suitably and delightfully, in a story of not even alleged depth.

The second episode, *The Job*, concerns a profligate young Milanese count married to a rich young Swiss (Romy Schneider). The count has a taste for call girls, and his wife, who loves him, decides – instead of leaving him – to have him pay her for her favors. It is rusty irony, and the sententious tedium is no surprise from its director, Luchino Visconti.

On the other hand, Vittorio De Sica's episode, *The Raffle*, is a disappointment, a pedestrian treatment of a tenuous joke. A carnival girl sells tickets in each town the show visits, the winner to spend the night in her caravan. The story is supposed to delineate the characters of the men who buy the tickets and the girl's essential decency. It would be quite uninteresting except that, even in this Italian salad with French dressing, Sophia Loren is believable and warm. (She is, let us note, one of the very few screen actresses who can do easily one of the most difficult things in acting: she can laugh.)

Fellini's episode is not only the best but the most honest. It treats with cynical frankness the chief reason for assembling these three beautiful girls in one film – a stroll down Mammary Lane.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 23 *August 6*
August 20 *September 3*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 10

Correspondence

Big Business in Space

Sirs:

There is little point to another round of argumentation with Mr. Asher Brynes on the communications satellite question. However, some of his more glaring factual errors require correction:

1. The high orbit Advent program has not been "abandoned," but only shifted to the Air Force. Indeed, NASA has just negotiated a new contract for an advanced high orbit proposal. The Japanese plan such a system for the 1964 Olympics.
2. Government expenditures will not end with the projected $471 million. NASA Administrator Webb's testimony indicates increasing expenditures.
3. All Administration witnesses concede that without this legislation, the proposed form of organization would violate the antitrust laws.
4. Although no one denies industry contributions to communications technology, the Administration's own spokesmen have estimated that "90 percent of our space communications competence has been taxpayer financed."
5. AT&T's interest in less developed areas is apparent from its refusal to service rural areas in our own country.

Estes Kefauver, US Senate
William Fitts Ryan, MC

Sirs:

The Kefauver-Ryan statement (June 11) that satellite communications was developed by the federal government and financed by tax dollars simply is not so. It was the independent research and development of private industry that makes this type of communication possible.

The record is there for anyone who cares to see.

In 1955, Dr. John R. Pierce of Bell Telephone Laboratories published the first concrete proposal for a satellite communications system. The invention of the transistor, the ruby maser, the solar battery, the traveling wave tube, and the horn reflector antenna, plus the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

experiments of Dr. Jansky in radio astronomy in the early 1930's, plus the work of many other scientists and engineers have made space communications possible.

It is fair to say that government research in *rocketry* enables the communications industry to put satellites in orbit. So that, while industry-paid research provides the communication, government-paid research provides the transportation. And the AT&T company, for one, reimburses the government for rocket launchings of its satellites. No cost to taxpayers.

Joseph Dorlaque
Chicago, Illinois

Sirs:

Mr. A. R. Hutson's suggestion (June 25) that he may not "really know anything about the drug business" is commendable, since he presumes complete authority regarding the technology and economics of semiconductor devices, aerospace vehicles, etc. As an editor who has worked several years with technical reports written by scientists and engineers employed in the semiconductor and aerospace industries, I cannot concur with Mr. Hutson's presumption.

The original transistor of 1948, though it represented an exhilarating technological breakthrough, is hardly a Model T in comparison with present-day devices. The semiconductor industry, which in effect dates from the 1952 patent agreements between Bell Telephone Company and the several companies interested in manufacturing the devices, has quickly produced the high-reliability, subminiature components essential to exploration of space. Gaseous-diffused silicon mesa transistors priced at $200 each and silicon varactor diodes at $500 are not likely to be used except in the go/no-go systems of space vehicles, or in R&D equipment leading to design and production of such systems. Of the numerous R&D programs with which I have been associated, I can recall only four that were company-sponsored, and each of these was directed toward – and have since culminated in – government-purchased hardware. I would say the public has a sizable investment in most of the satelite equipment – including the communications equipment. Moreover, Senator Kefauver and Representative Ryan undoubtedly have a far more accurate estimate of the Government's investment than Mr. Hutson.

And by what sort of logic does one condition himself to ignore the phenomenal cost to the public for development of rocket boosters, to casually say the boosters were developed for military purposes and so we have them "whether we want them or not."? Is the public to place these boosters at the disposal of a private company, then pay service charges on military and governmental communications? Should the capital investment in the Panama Canal be written off to military expense and the Canal be turned over to a private company for profit on US Naval ships as well as private ships?

Don Alford
Orange, California

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $20.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

S-T-R-E-T-C-H Your Money. Join the circle of Smart Buyers. Buy more for less. Details $1.00.
THE FRONTIER SAVING CLUB
3314 Twentieth Street
Tuskaloosa, Alabama

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

INDISPENSABLE for a
FACTUAL UNDERSTANDING
of Today's World and What's to Be Done!
SUBSCRIBE TO
THE WESTERN SOCIALIST
11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.
$1 for 8 issues; $2 for 18 issues.

In recent issues: The African Dilemma, Cybernation, Peace Movements, Science and Ethics, People's Capitalism, The New Ocean, U.S. and Underground Testing, etc.
(sample copy on request.)

The Canadian Elections

Sirs:

The New York Times does not mind being chastized for its sins, but we think that "TRB from Washington" has very slender evidence on which to convict us of a sin of omission so far as the Canadian elections are concerned.

He says that he was able to find only a half a column about the elections in the "huge Sunday *NY Times*" on June 10. That may be, but in the past six months *The New York Times* has printed 402½ column inches about the elections, including very complete returns . . . and a good post-mortem. . . .

Clifton Daniel
Assistant Managing Editor
The New York Times

Schwarz and the Radical Right

Sirs:

Mr. James Gatsby's letter in your columns July 2 provokes me to say the unkind things about his opinions on Dr. Schwarz that originally came to my mind when I read his review of *You Can Trust the Communists.* For example, in his letter he advances two reasonably implausible theories as to why Schwarz is not an anti-Semite without even hinting at the most obvious possibility – his father was Jewish.

Since he can't quite fit Schwarz's book into the same category as *Aware, American Opinion,* and the *American Mercury* he concludes that Schwarz can't be a conservative at all. Hence his announcement that Schwarz is "moderate." I submit that conclusion is palpably false. Mr. Gatsby's excuse might be that Schwarz's book seems less extreme than the rantings of Billy James Hargis. I think that the difference between these two practitioners of crusading anti-Communism is chiefly one of orientation. While Hargis lacks the mental equipment and personality to dignify his message with the trapings of reasonability, Schwarz does not. Mr. Gatsby seems to think that because Schwarz uses a soft sell, his heart really isn't in his job.

In fact, Schwarz usually advances the premises of the extreme rightists, leaving them to reach the clearly implied

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conclusions. Instead of calling for a pre-emptive war, Schwarz is content with saying, as he did before HUAC, that "to negotiate true peace . . . is impossible." He has said on the platform: "Co-existence is impossible," and "Communism is total evil." These are not the utterances of a moderate.

Schwarz has a sense of decorum that tells him when to stop short of saying the completely ludicrous. He pretends to rationality and is quite careful to avoid one common pitfall of the extremists: the incredible accusation. But this does not make Schwarz less a radical rightist. His writings and speeches follow the pattern we now know so well, nationalism, free-enterprisism, and fundamentalism.

Roger M. Leed
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Pardon for Scales?

Sirs:

TRB (June 25) seems to base an appeal for Junius Scales' pardon on one or more of the following reasons: (1) Scales was the "only man in jail in America because he was a member of the Communist Party" (2) "he is a patently misguided idealist [(3)] who has heartily renounced Communism" and (4) "a petition for Presidential pardon is signed by nine of the twelve jurors who convicted him, two Federal judges, Norman Thomas and a lot of others."

(1) Certainly his release is not being sought on the grounds that he is the only man successfully prosecuted for this crime. If this were so, virtually every person convicted under a new law or any person who is the only one in jail for violating any law must similarly be released. What a mockery this would make of our system of laws. (2) Obviously the fact that Scales was misguided has no bearing on whether he should pay the penalty for disobeying the law. Should the Nazis executed at Nuremberg have been freed because they were misguided?

(3) If Scales is pardoned because he "heartily renounced Communism" then every convicted murderer who heartily renounces murder (most do, especially those about to die) and every convicted robber who heartily renounces robbery (some do) also deserves a pardon. (4) Surely TRB doesn't believe that President Kennedy should issue such a pardon because there is a petition "signed by nine of the twelve jurors (What happened to the other three? I guess majority rules) who convicted him, two Federal judges (out of how many hundreds in the country?), Norman Thomas (probably Harry Bridges too) and a lot of others (What is the ratio of "others" to the population of the United States?)." I believe TRB means that there must be a reason for the action of these petition signers which makes it desirable for Scales to be pardoned, but what is it? It can only be concluded that he thinks the law is bad, because everything seemed legal. If the law is bad then surely he should try to influence the majority of the House and Senate to change it, for a pardon is, in this case, a method of circumventing the law and a method of granting a certain person a special privilege.

Craig H. Ostfeld
Chicago, Illinois

Critics Choice

Sirs:

I protest the entrenchment on your staff of music critic B. H. Haggin and drama critic Robert Brustein. Haggin's perverse readings no longer bother me – he seems almost as bored now in writing as I am in seeing his reviews.

Brustein, on the other hand, is still too bloody awful to pass over quickly. I've tried to pound my distaste into specific critical terms, without much luck. But these at least must be put on the record: his narrow urbanity which issues in the truly provincial; his aesthetic dogmatism; and the superficiality of his imagination. A remark from his latest review can be fairly turned against him: "primarily qualified for works which do not demand much emotional depth." His aptitude seems to be for arch repudiation of Broadway kitsch, and even Howard Taubman can do *that*.

His review of the APA repertory company was actually not bad on the whole; however, in the course of the review, he casually dismissed Ellis Rabb's Lear – the same Lear which the *Saturday Review* called the greatest in the history of the American theater (meant, doubtless, as a compliment) – apparently because it did not fit his own concept of the role. Rabb's performance as Lear may not have been definitive (whose Lear could be *that*?), but it was brilliant, suggestive, *and* powerful. I was fortunate to see Rabb in most of the Shakespearian gamut at Antioch a few years ago, and on the basis of those productions I say it is absurd to scorn his competence for tragedy. Far from being "perfectly awful," Rabb was breathtaking and nearly perfect in such roles as Leontes, Cassius, Wolsey, Capulet, and – weirdly – Malvolio.

It is maddening to see a second-rate talent such as Brustein secure in a position where he can magisterially condescend to first-rate achievement. A publication of the quality of *The New Republic* requires rare perceivers for its critics. Mere competence in such cases is wholly inadequate.

Alan Shavzin
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS
Masterpieces by Sharaku, Hiroshige, Utamaro, Hokusai, etc.
Accurately reproduced by hand-carved woodblocks using exactly the same materials as originals.
Full-scale; museum-authenticated
Illustrated pamphlet listing over 250 titles, $1.00 by airmail, 25c by seamail
Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints
CPO Box 362
Tokyo, Japan

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

CLASSIFIED RATES
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year....20c
Per word 26 times in one contract year.... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c
NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RICHMOND -TELEFUNKEN

products of

London

LP SALE

1/3rd OFF

All $1.98 mono* now $1.32

All $2.98 stereo* now $1.99

*Catalog Price

ALL RECORDS POSTAGE PREPAID

NO CLUBS TO JOIN –

ORDER WHAT YOU WANT WHEN YOU WANT IT

THE WORLD'S GREATEST CLASSICAL AND POPULAR MUSIC—THE WORLD'S GREATEST ARTISTS—UNSURPASSED VALUES

SYMPHONIC MARCHES
Elgar: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCHES Nos. 1-5; IMPERIAL MARCH. Meyerbeer; CORONATION MARCH. Saint-Saëns: MARCHE MILITAIRE FRANCAISE. Halvorsen; ENTRY OF THE BOYARDS. L.S.O.—Braithwaite, Sargent, Harrison. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: VIOLIN CONCERTO
Ruggiero Ricci—London Philharmonic O. —Sir Adrian Boult. Mono $1.32 ☐

Mendelssohn: A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Schubert: ROSAMUNDE—Incidental Music. Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—Eduard van Beinum. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 6
London Phil. Orch.—Erich Kleiber. Mono $1.32 ☐

Brahms: HUNGARIAN DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Dvorák: SLAVONIC DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 16. Hamburg Radio Orchestra—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Mono $1.32 ☐

Prokofiev: PETER AND THE WOLF
Frank Phillips, Narrator — London Phil. Orch. — Malko. Britten: THE YOUNG PERSON'S GUIDE TO THE ORCH. Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam — Eduard van Beinum. Mono $1.32 ☐

Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 3
Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—George Szell. Mono $1.32 ☐

Vivaldi: THE FOUR SEASONS
Stuttgart Chamber Orch.—Karl Münchinger. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: PIANO CONCERTO No. 3
Wilhelm Backhaus—Vienna Phil. Orch.—Karl Böhm. Mono $1.32 ☐

Rachmaninoff: RHAPSODY ON A THEME OF PAGANINI. Dohnanyi: VARIATIONS ON A NURSERY TUNE. Julius Katchen, Piano—L.P.O.—Sir Adrian Boult. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 9—"Choral"
Vienna Philharmonic Orch.—Erich Kleiber. Mono $1.32 ☐

OPERATIC CHORUSES
Il Trovatore; Aida; Flying Dutchman; Nabucco; Otello; Der Freischutz
Chorus and Orch. of the Berlin Municipal Opera—Artur Rother
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

MOZART REQUIEM (K.626)
Maria Stader, Soprano; Hertha Töpper, Alto; John Van Kesteren, Tenor; Karl-Christian Kohn, Bass. The Munich Bach-Chorus, Munich Bach-Orchestra Conducted by Karl Richter.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

Bruckner: SYMPHONY No. 9 IN D MINOR
Hamburg State Philharmonic Orchestra—Joseph Keilberth.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

Mozart: CONCERTO IN C FOR FLUTE AND HARP, K. 299; CONCERTO No. 2 FOR FLUTE, K. 314; ANDANTE FOR FLUTE AND ORCHESTRA, K. 315. Rose Stein, harp; Aurele Nicolet, flute. The Munich Bach-Orch.—Karl Richter.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

MUSIC OF JEROME KERN &
IRVING BERLIN—Stanley Black Orch.
Smoke Gets In Your Eyes; The Touch Of Your Hand; I've Told Every Little Star; The Way You Look Tonight; The Night Was Made For Love; A Pretty Girl Is Like A Melody; Say It With Music; Simple Melody; No Strings; Heat Wave.
Mono $1.32 ☐

THE MILLION SELLERS
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Jealousy; Stardust; Sentimental Journey; Friendly Persuasion; My Prayer; Laura; I'm Gonna Sit Right Down And Write Myself A Letter; Young At Heart; Stranger In Paradise; True Love.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

ENCHANTED TANGOS
Bela Sanders and His Orchestra
A Media Luz; Tango Espagnol; Olé Guapa; Caminito; La Palomita; Luna Rossa; Hear My Song, Violetta; Plegarla; Donna Vatra; Jealousy. Mono $1.32 ☐

EBB TIDE
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Ebb Tide; Smoke Gets In Your Eyes; Love By Starlight; Boulevard Of Broken Dreams; Among My Souvenirs; Limelight; Red Sails In The Sunset; I Only Have Eyes For You; Autumn Leaves; Deep Purple.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

HIGHLAND PIPES—Pipes and Drums
The Scots Guards
Intro.: Back O' Benachie (Trad.); Hundred Pipers (Trad.); El Alamein (Denholm); Skye Boat Song (arr. Lawson; Boulton); Highland Cradle Song (Trad.); The Green Hills Of Tyrol (Trad.); Blackmount Forest (Trad.); Dornie Ferry (Fergusson); O'er The Isles To America (Trad.); Flowers Of The Forest (Trad.); Lochaber No More! (Trad.); Sword Dance (Trad.); Eightsome Reel (Trad.); Mrs. Kirkwood's Waltz (Hutcheon); King George V's Army (MacLennan); Monymusk (Trad.); Jenny Dang The Weaver (Trad.); The Shores Of Argyll (Trad.). Mono $1.32 ☐

BIG BAND RODGERS
Ted Heath and His Music
My Heart Stood Still; Where Or When; Blue Room; Have You Met Miss Jones; Thou Swell; It's Easy To Remember; This Can't Be Love; The Lady Is A Tramp; There's A Small Hotel; Dancing On The Ceiling. Mono $1.32 ☐

MOVIE THEMES
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Theme From The Apartment; The Green Leaves Of Summer (The Alamo); Never On Sunday; Theme From A Summer Place; Just In Time (Bells Are Ringing); Pepe; Gigi; Theme From The Unforgiven; Theme From The Sundowners; The River Kwai March.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

THE BEST OF COLE PORTER
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
I Love Paris; Easy To Love; Begin The Beguine; In The Still Of The Night; It's De-Lovely; Night And Day; Don't Fence Me In; I've Got You Under My Skin; You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To; Just One Of Those Things.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

POLKA & WALTZ TIME IN BOHEMIA
Ernst Mosch and His Bohemian Band
Nur ein halbes Stündchen (Only One Half Hour); Oderfurter Promenade; Das geht ins Gemüt (In the Heart); Hartenberger Polka; Heimatgrüsse (Homeland Greetings); Die Kapelle hat gewonnen (The Winning Band); Schätzlein (Sweetheart); Schürzenwalzer (Apron Waltz); Dorfschmeid (The Village Blacksmith); Mondschein an der Eger (Moonlight on the Eger). Mono $1.32 ☐

BEER 'N BRASS—Bohemian Polkas & Waltzes—Ernst Mosch & Bohemian Band
Egerland Heimatland; Fesche Madelin; Ach, ich liebe dich; Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag; Festewalzer; Falkenauer Bummel; Wenn eine Frau die Wahrheit spricht; Trachten-Walzer; Blumengrüsse; Posterl-Tanz. Mono $1.32 ☐

Tchaikovsky: THE SLEEPING BEAUTY—Complete
Paris Cons. Orch.—Anatole Fistoulari.
(2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Bach: BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS —Complete
Stuttgart Chamber O. Karl Münchinger
(2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Tchaikovsky: THE SWAN LAKE —Complete
London Sym. Orch. Anatole Fistoulari.
(2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Bach: ST. MATTHEW PASSION —Complete
Kathleen Ferrier (contralto); Elsie Suddaby (soprano); Eric Greene (tenor); Henry Cummings (bass); Gordon Clinton (bass); William Parsons (bass); Bruce Boyce (bass); Bach Choir. The Jacques Orchestra with Dr. Osborne Peasgood, organ and Dr. Thornton Lofthouse, continuo, conducted by Dr. Reginald Jacques. **(3 LP's) Mono $3.96 ☐**

TELEFUNKEN presents the . . .

COLLECTORS SERIES OF HISTORIC RE-ISSUES

Original Recording of the Weill-Brecht
THREE PENNY OPERA
(DREIGROSCHENOPER)
and MAHAGONNY
Lotte Lenya; Erich Ponto; Kurt Gerron; Erike Helmke; Willy Trenk-Trebitsch. (recorded 1930)
The Lewis-Ruth Band—Theo Mackeben
Mono $1.32 ☐

BAYREUTH 1936—Excerpts from LOHENGRIN, SIEGFRIED, TANNHAUSER
Maria Müller; Franz Völker; Margarete Klose; Jaro Prohaska; Josef von Manowarda. Max Lorenz; Erich Zimmerman. Orchestra and Chorus of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus—Heinz Tietjen, conductor. Orchestra of the Berlin Opera House—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt conductor. Mono $1.32 ☐

THE VOICE OF ERNA SACK
Voices Of Spring; Parla-Waltz; Roses From The South; Jubilate; Under The Lime Tree; Village Swallows Waltz; Tales From The Vienna Woods; I Give My Heart; Zigeunerlied; Mein Herr Marquis; and other selections. Orch. of the German Opera House, Berlin—Chorus and Orch. of the Berlin State Opera; conducted by Willi Czernick, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Hugo Diez. Mono $1.32 ☐

THE DEFINITIVE PIANO
Famous Composers Play Their Own Music
A High Fidelity Reproduction of Original Piano Rolls from the Welte Archive. (recorded 1905-1913)
Edvard Grieg; Claude Debussy; Gustav Mahler; Camille Saint-Saëns; Richard Strauss; Max Reger Mono $1.32 ☐

WILLEM MENGELBERG
Tchaikovsky: SYMPHONY No. 6 IN B MINOR, Op. 74 "PATHETIQUE"
Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (recorded December, 1937)
Mono $1.32 ☐

WILLEM MENGELBERG
Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 4 (recorded Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam 1938) Mono $1.32 ☐

THE DEFINITIVE PIANO
Famous Pianists of the Past
A High Fidelity Reproduction of Original Piano Rolls from the Welte Archive. (recorded 1905-1913)
Eugen d'Albert; Ferruccio Busoni; Teresa Carreno; Frederic Lamond; Theodor Leschetizky; Emil Sauer; Alfred Grünfeld; Franz Xaver Scharwenka Mono $1.32 ☐

THE VOICE OF JOSEPH SCHMIDT
Arias from La Traviata; Il Trovatore; Rigoletto; Un Ballo In Maschera; Tosca; Die Zauberflöte; L'Elisir D'Amore; The Bartered Bride. The Berlin State Opera Orchestra—The Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Selmar Meyrowitz (recorded 1929-1931) Mono $1.32 ☐

THE GOLDEN AGE OF BAYREUTH (1932-1936). Excerpts from DIE WALKURE; LOHENGRIN; DIE MEISTERSINGER; TANNHAUSER; DAS RHEINGOLD
Franz Völker; Marie Müller, Orchestra and Chorus of the Bayreuth Festspielhause—Heinz Tietjen, conductor. Helge Roswaenge; Rudolf Bockelmann. Orch. of the Berlin State Opera—Franz Alfred Schmidt, conductor. Mono $1.32 ☐

RICHMOND-TELEFUNKEN RECORDS
Division of London Records, Inc. **Dept. NR-3**
140 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen: Please send me the items checked in the boxes indicated.
Enclosed is my check in the amount of.....
☐ Please send free complete catalog (Minimum order $3.96)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

N. Y. CITY RESIDENTS ADD 3% SALES TAX
Offer ends October 31, 1962 Offer good only in Continental US

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED